NOTITIA HISTORICORUM SELECTORUM, OR Animadverſions upon the Antient AND Famous GREEK and LATIN HISTORIANS.

Written in *French* by the Learned *FRANCIS LA MOTHE LE VAYER*, Councellor of State to the preſent *French* King.

Tranſlated into *Engliſh*, with ſome Additions By *W. D. B. A.* Of *Magd. Hall*, Oxon.

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OXFORD, Printed by *LEON. LICHFIELD*, Printer to the Univerſity, For *RIC. DAVIS*, *Anno Dom.* 1678.

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OAKES, Ann. Dom. 1658.

To the Right Honourable

JAMES

EARL OF DONCASTER

Eldeſt Son to the moſt noble Prince

JAMES

DUKE OF MONMOUTH

And Beaucleugh.

My Lord,

YOUR Lordſhip whoſe Greatneſs is to be in Arms, will know how uſeful a virtue Ambition is, and forgive my pride who deſire to be the firſt who ſhall lay ſomething at Your feet. This Treatiſe was written to inſtruct the preſent French *King when* Dauphin *in the choice of Hiſtory, and to recommend to him the Ancient Writers, who muſt needs be the beſt, becauſe they treat of the Ancient virtue.*

Your

Your Lordſhip is the hopes of our Age, and 'tis the intereſt of all that Your tender years ſhould be ſeaſoned with the Love of that Noble ſtudy, in the Greek *and* Roman Hiſtorians. *Your Lordſhip will ſee what you have to do to be a* Hero, *but Your Lordſhip cannot have a better example of Greatneſs than Your Princely Father, who is bold in War, calm in Councel, temperate in Peace, and who like* Scipio, *is a perfect Commander in the very Spring of his Youth, but this is too great a Subject for me though none more admires his Virtues, and more firmly beleives Your Lordſhip will ſucceed to all his Glory, than*

My Lord

Your Lordſhips moſt devoted humble
and moſt obedient Servant

W. D.

THE PREFACE OF THE AUTHOR.

I Find my ſelf obliged to write a Preface, to give a reaſon for the order I obſerve in the choice of thoſe Hiſtorians, whereof I treat. For many perſons till they ſhall have conſidered of it, may well wonder, that I make no mention of ſome very famous Authors, who are often ranked amongſt the Hiſtorians. As *Plutarch*, *Diogenes Laertius*, *Philoſtratus*, and *Eunapius*, of the Greeks, and *Cornelius Nepos*, or *Æmilius Probus* of the Latins, with ſome Writers of particular lives, ſuch as *Spartian*, *Lampridius*, and others, who compiled the Volume uſually called *Hiſtoria Auguſta*. It is certain that moſt of them did write very well of the times which they deſcribe, and that the reading of

of their books, where we can have no better recourſe than to them, ought not to be neglected. But becauſe none of them compiled a perfect body of Hiſtory, that came to our hands, (if it be true that the *Chronicles* of *Cornelius Nepos* are intirely loſt;) my deſign would not allow me to compriſe them in this book, wherein I onely pretend to examine thoſe Writers, who have left us more Univerſal Hiſtories, and from whom the Laws of Hiſtory may be beſt collected. A true and regular Hiſtory comprehends much more than the ſingle narration of any life whatſoever; And I thought I had reaſon to reject the writers of the *Hiſtoria Auguſta*, for if I had put them in the place where they were to be inſerted, they would not have contributed to my purpoſe; All that Large Volume being rather a cold and lifeleſs Carkaſs, than a body of animated Hiſtory, as it ought to be: The judgment of many of the Learned in that behalf, is ſutable to his opinion who calls them in his Preface, *Hiſtoriæ Dehoneſtamenta*. For there is nothing to be gained by reading of them in relation to the rules of Hiſtory,

unleſs it be in a contrary ſenſe, as by the ſound of thoſe bad Players upon the Flute, which *Iſmenias* made his Schollars to hear, that they might avoid the faults they obſerved in his playing. If it be objected that by omitting theſe, I might as well have refrained from *Suetonius*, and *Quintus Curtius*, who wrot only Lives; it is eaſy to ſhew by the inequality of their labours, to thoſe I decline, that they merited the place they have in this work. For as to the laſt, I have not ſo much conſidered him as a Writer of the *Life* of *Alexander* the Great, as an Hiſtoriographer of that great change and Tranſlation of the Empire of the *Perſians*, to the *Macedonians*. And as for *Suetonius*, the ſucceſſion he has left us of twelve Emperors in the ſpace of an Age and more, puts ſuch a difference between him, and thoſe who only publiſhed ſeparate Lives without any coherence, that the Learned unanimouſly confer on him, the Title of an Excellent Hiſtorian.

We ought not moreover to eſteem all as Hiſtorians, who have given the Title of Hiſtory to their works, *Pliny* that wrot the

the *Natural Hiſtory*, cannot properly be taken for one; And the ſame may be ſaid of *Ariſtotle* and *Ælian*, though they compiled Hiſtories of Animals. And if the word Hiſtorian were extended as far is it would reach, *Lucan*, *Silius Italicus*, and many other Poets might aſſume it in regard of the ſubject matter of their Poems; upon which nevertheleſs we have not thought it convenient to make the leaſt reflection. For we find ſo little relation between Hiſtory and Poetry, that as the one cannot be without Fable, the other is inconſiderable without truth; and it would be unreaſonable not to make a diſtinction between things of ſo different a nature, which have ſcarce any thing in common except the double ſenſe of words.

Neither let it be thought ſtrange to ſee the number of Greek Hiſtorians which I examine, exceed that of the Latins. Which is to be imputed, either to the injury of time that prevailed more over the latter than the former; or to the different Genius of the Nations, which gave that advantage to the *Greeks*, that although the *Roman* Empire was after the *Grecian*, yet the *Latins*

tins were not so accurate in writing History, as the *Greeks*. For we have found some of their Historians worthy of great consideration even in the time of the Emperor *Justinian*, whereas those who wrot in Latin with reputation, do not go beyond the age of the *Antonines*, where all the Criticks with a common consent place the Old age of Latin History. Yet I have made it descend a little lower, to place after *Justin*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who though a *Grecian* wrot his History in Latin, in the time of *Julian*, *Jovian*, *Valentinian*, and *Valens*, where it ended. If I had not confined my self to the Historians of the first Classe only, I might have made the number of the Latins equal to that of the *Greeks*, and deduced History writ in the *Roman* Language, to *Justinian*'s time, by the addition of *Jornandes* and *Cassiodorus*, as I have done the Greeks by my Reflections on *Procopius* and *Agathias*. But in the design I had to gather the necessary precepts to write History well, from the Reflections we might make upon such of the Ancients as cultivated it with most skill and reputation, I was content

to examin the principal of them, imitating in ſome manner thoſe Pirates, who often let Veſſels that are light and of ſmall burthen paſs, to fall upon the moſt loaden, as on thoſe where there is more to be gained.

Having in ſome manner juſtified my proceedings, it is reaſonable that I ſhould acknowledg the great aſſiſtance I received from divers perſons who favoured my enterpriſe. The Two *Du Puys* were the firſt who perſwaded me to it, and according to their natural goodneſs, (which ſo many Schollars find by daily experience) aſſiſted me with Books out of three Great Libraries, to wit, the *Kings*, that of *Monſieur de Thou*, and their own. It is certain that the firſt could never fall into better hands, and though as all men know it is very conſiderable, yet it receives at this day its greateſt ornament from their judicious conduct, whoſe preſence does even animate the books contained in it. Neither were they content to give me all the help that way I could deſire; but as it is ſaid of *Socrates*, that he performed the Office of Midwife to the ſpiritual de-

liveries

liveries of the moſt worthy men of *Greece*, I ſhould be very ungrateful not to confeſs, that I am indebted to their Learned conferences, for all that is good in this Treatiſe. This compariſon, and their backwardneſs hitherto in ſetting out any thing under their own names (although their works, when expoſed to the eye of the world, will meet with an Univerſal approbation) puts me in mind of a thought of *Pliny* the Younger, on the ſubject of one of his friends. He ſaies, that they who, though full of Learning and merit, are nevertheleſs ſilent, demonſtrate a greater ſtrength of wit, than many others who cannot forbear to proſtitute what they know; *Illi qui tacent hoc amplius præſtant, quod maximum opus ſilentio reverentur.* In the next place I muſt acknowledg the great aſſiſtance, I have received from the Library of the moſt Eminent *Cardinal Mazarin* by the means of his Learned Library-keeper *Monſieur Naudé*, who was pleaſed to add to the effects of his ordinary humanity, thoſe of an Ancient and moſt perfect friendſhip. As for ſome Authors who have anticipated me, in printing of works upon the ſame ſubject, *Ep.* 25. *l.* 7.

subject. I hope I shall not be accused of ingratitude towards them. I have cited *Stegonius*, *Vossius*, and *Balthasar Bonifacius*, who wrot and censured before me the Greek and Latin Historians; and if I have taken something from them, as it could not be avoided, I did it not like a Theif or *Plagiary*, nor without adding something of my own, which a candid Reader might well expect from a Treatise succeeding so many others, but with this advantage at least, (as far as I know) to be the first of this nature, that has been seen in *French*.

I am not ignorant that my work is not of the number of those which please many people. They that prefer Fabulous Stories before true Nărratives, and Romances before *Roman* History, will not find content here. I consider herein the excellent waies used by the Ancients, to instruct us faithfully and satisfactorily, in those passages of the world which were worthy to be Recorded to posterity. And thoughts are herein displayed in such a manner, that without giving a precise judgment, as coming absolutely from me, I leave, without partiality, free liberty to

all

all men, to contradict my opinions. But though many perhaps who are short-sighted, will yeild freely to those who have better eyes than themselves, yet very few refer themselves to others in what concerns the Operations of the mind; wherein every one thinks he is clear sighted, and no body will acknowledg a Superior. Let not therefore what I expose here but as doubts grounded upon some appearances of truth, be taken for resolutions. My freinds know why I wrot them. And my comfort is whatever happens, the Labour was as an honest diversion to me. And if it be true, as *Clemens Alexandrinus* asserts, that our Souls are of the nature of Wells, from whence we must alwaies draw something, to make their waters more wholesome and pure; I do not repent of a trouble which has been so profitable to me, and which at least has kept my better part from corruption for want of exercise. To conclude, I should willingly use in favour of this writing, the same prayer to God, which *Apollonius* made to the Sun, when he undertook those long voyages, which *Philostratus* describes upon the credit of *Damis*. Addressing himself

Lib. 1. Strom.

ſelf to that great Star, which he held to be the Viſible God of Nature, he asked him the favour to find through the world, the moſt honeſt men. If my book were ſo happy to have no others to deal with, it would be no ſmall advantage to it. But if its deſtiny is otherwiſe ordained, I muſt ſuffer patiently what cannot be avoided by thoſe who expoſe any thing to the publick.

The Greek Hiſtorians.

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The Latin Hiſtorians.

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IMPRIMATUR.

March. 29 1678. *JOH. NICHOLAS*
Vic. Can. Oxon.

REFLECTIONS UPON THE *HISTORY* OF HERODOTUS.

ALTHOUGH there have been many Greek Hiſtorians, who preceeded *Herodotus*; he is allowed to be the moſt Ancient of thoſe whoſe Works have been preſerved to our time. *Pherecydes*, *Dionyſius*, *Mileſius*, *Hecateus*, *Xanthus Lydius*, *Charon of Lampſacum*, *Hellanicus*, and ſome others are indeed mentioned to have written Hiſtories before him; but their writings have been ſo long loſt, that *Cicero*, in his Book *de Legibus*, acknowledged *Herodotus* to be the Father of Hiſtory: and in another place, for his excellency, he ſtiled him the *Prince of Hiſtorians*. *L. 1. de leg. & 2. de Orat.*

They reckon no leſs than one and twenty Ages from his to ours, for he lived about four Hundred and Fifty years before the Nativity of Chriſt: *Hellanicus*, and *Thucydides* were his contempo-

temporaries; and they differed so little in Age, that, as *Aulus Gellius* reports, *Hellanicus* was but twelve years elder than *Herodotus*; and *Thucydides* but Thirteen years younger. *Suidas*, *Photius*, and *Marcellinus*, relate a circumstance, which justifies this, in respect of the two latter: they write that *Herodotus* reading his History, in a great Olympick Assembly of all Greece, *Thucydides*, (who was then but very young) could not forbear weeping to hear him: which obliged *Herodotus* to tell his Father, that he esteem'd him very happy in having a Son, who shewed, so early, such a great affection to the Muses.

L. 15. c. 25. Noct. Att.

I do not affirm by this expression of *Herodotus*, that he then called the nine Books, he composed, by the names of the *Daughters of Parnassus*. The most probable opinion, and which *Lucian* seems to uphold, is, that those Books received their names from the learned, rather than the Author: and we find many other writings to have been dignified with the like Title, which did not deserve it so well as these. *Dion the Rhetorician* composed nine Books, which were called the *Nine Muses*, as we learn from *Diogenes Laertius*. And the same Author assures us, that the obscure productions of *Heraclitus* his brain, of which *Socrates* made no difficulty to confess, that he hardly understood any thing, were honored nevertheless with the name of the *Muses*. We read moreover in the *Library of Photius*,

L. de scr. hist.

In Bion. & Herac.

Photius, that one *Cephaleon* had compiled an Epitome of Hiſtory, from *Ninus* to *Alexander the Great*, in nine Sections, divided alſo between the *Nine learned Siſters*; though in a different order from that of *Herodotus*. And that *Aurelius Opilius*, quoted ſome where by *Aulus Gellius*, who from a Philoſopher, became a Rhetorician, and from a Rhetorician, a Grammarian (ſo degenerate he was) did not forbear to do the like, in a Treatiſe of his, conſiſting of Nine Books: And few that converſe in Books are ignorant, that as the three Orations of *Demoſthenes* his Competitor, had the names of the *Graces*, his *Nine Epiſtles* received thoſe of the *Muſes*, being the moſt illuſtrious, which could be given them.

A Book ſo called.

Noct. Att. l. 1. c. 25.

Suet. de ill. Gram. c. 6.

Photius Sect. 61. de Æſch.

But from this inſcription of the *Muſes*, ſome have not forborn to accuſe *Herodotus*, of being too great a Lover of Fables, and of having made a Hiſtory, ſo Poetical, in favour of the *Companions of Apollo*, that there is ſeldome any truth found in it. This Faction reproaches him of all the ſtrange things he has writ, and which have been moſt doubted of: and inſinuates that thoſe words of the *Latin Satyriſt*, which tax Greek Hiſtory:

& quicquid Græcia mendax
Audet in Hiſtoria, &c.

Juven. Sat. 10.

Were meant of him, and even *Caſaubon* thought, that *Herodotus* his relations, had made his detractors inveigh, the word *delirare*, taking for an Etymologie, that which is perhaps, but a ſimple alluſion.

But as he has had accusers, so he has not wanted persons to undertake his defence: *Aldus Manucius*, *Joachim Camerarius*, and *Henricus Stephanus* have writ Apologies for him: and the long voyages, as well to the North, as the South, and the East-Indies, which have been made in our daies, have very much justified his writings, to shew us that an infinite number of things, that be writ by the relation of others, and whereof he likewise doubted very much, are now found to be true. He declares in his *Melpomene*, on the Subject of those Phenicians, whom *King Necus* imbarked in the red Sea, and who returned to *Ægypt*, more than two years after, by the Pillars of *Hercules*; affirming, that they had in some of the Coasts of *Africk*, the Sun on the right hand, that he could not in any wise believe them; though it is now evident by common experience, that they could not return from the Erythrean Sea into the Mediterranean, (as they did,) without doubling the *Cape*, now called the *Cape of Good Hope*, and without having, in that place, the Sun on their right hand, and their shadow on their left (they being beyond the Tropick of Capricorn.) In the following book of *Terpsichore*, he makes those *Thracians* Lyers, who said, that the Country beyond the River *Ister*, was full of Bees, for this weak reason, that Bees cannot live in places so cold as those must needs be. Yet few are ignorant in our daies that *Muscovy* is full of them, that they often people whole

whole Forreſts, where theſe little Animals, ſometimes by their labour, nouriſh Beares of an exceſſive magnitude, which inhabit therein. With the like feat of being miſtaken, he doubted whether he ſhould believe, that the *Iſle of Chemnis* floated upon a Lake of *Ægypt*, becauſe he ſaw it not move, and that it was improbable that an Iſle ſhould ſwim upon water. But not to ſpeak of the fabulous *Symplegades*, or *Cyaneans*, we read that both the *Plinies*, *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*, *Theophraſtus*, and *Seneca* have witneſſed, that ſuch are found in many places, and that they have ſeen ſome in their agitation. There are ſome near St *Omers*, in one of which the Arch Duke *Albertus*, and the *Infanta* of *Spain* his Dutches, were entertained at a dinner. And it is no ſtrange thing to the *Scotch*, to ſee one of this nature, in their *Lake of Loumond*, affording very good paſture ground. In fine, their exiſtence is ſo certain, that the Lawyers *Paulus*, and *Labeo* diſputed of the right of their Soil, the firſt being of opinion, that none had property in them. Who would not have taken for a Fable, that which the ſame *Herodotus* mentions, in another place, of certain *Thracian* Women, who contended among themſelves, after the death of their Huſband, who ſhould have the Honour to be kill'd upon his Grave, and buried with him? If the *Portugueſe*, and other relations had not diſcovered, that it is a cuſtome practiſed in all the Coaſt of the *Malabares*, and almoſt through all

In Euterpi

L. pen. parag. 2 dig. de acq. rer. dom.

Initio Terpſic.

the East, for Women to caſt themſelves, of their own accord, and in emulation one of the other, into the flaming funeral Piles of their deceaſed husbands.

But as we may perceive by theſe examples, that *Herodotus* did hardly ever expoſe for certain thoſe things, which he did not perfectly know; though they were found true, long after the age in which he lived: ſo we muſt obſerve, that he has been very careful to condemn that which he judged to be manifeſtly falſe, when it appear'd to be againſt the ordinary courſe of Nature: even ſo in his *Thalia* he laughed at the pretended *Arimaſpes*, who had but one Eie, and ſtole the *Gryphons* gold in the North. In *Melpomene*, the following Section, he does not more favourably deliver the Tale of the *Aigipodes*, or Goat-footed men: nor what he had read of the *Hyperboreans*, who ſleep ſix Months of the Year: though this may probably have reſpect to the long Nights of thoſe people, who live under the *Arctick Circle*, and who paſs almoſt half the year, without ſeeing the Sun, whilſt they are very near the Pole. When he writes a little after of one *Abaris*, who run over all the Earth, without eating, and with an Arrow, which ſerved him inſtead of a *Pegaſus*, he relates it as a Fable which was very famous in his time: but in the ſame Book, he proteſts againſt the common belief, that there were men, Neighbors to the *Scythians*, who made themſelves Wolves once a year,

year, and resum'd after some daies, their human form: one cannot then say, that he has indifferently mingled truth with Fables, without distinguishing them; nor that he was a Lyer, though he often rehearsed the Fables of others, which the most exact Laws of History do not forbid: nay those very Laws oblige us to report the rumours which have been current, and the different opinions of men, (as he well observed in his *Polyhimnia* on the Subject of the Argians) by an Advertisement which may serve for all his whole History. Add to this, that *Herodotus* having been a most Religious observer of the Divine Worship, of which he made profession (if one may say so of a Pagan) there is little appearance, that he would charge his conscience with so foul a crime in an Historian, as false relation: for it appears that he respected so much the things he thought Divine, though he was an Idolater; that he would never reveal those Misteries, which the religion of his time forbad to be published; although an occasion presented it self in many places of his works. And one may observe in his *Urania*, how he makes all the successes of the Naval fight, wherein *Themistocles* overcame the Army of *Xerxes*, to agree with the Oracles which preceeded, whereof, he affirms, each prediction to have been punctually accomplished: therefore one, that was so great a friend to Altars, ought not to be suspected, of having betrayed truth in favour of impostures, which were no less infamous,

mous, or deteſted in his time than in ours.

Nevertheleſs though much may be ſaid in his defence; and though he may have been often ſlandered, by thoſe whom ignorance, or envy have animated againſt him, we find two Authors of ſo great authority, who have cenſured him (without ſpeaking of *Harpocration*, who made a Book, purpoſely to defame him) that one can ſcarcely pronounce him innocent.

Plutarch is the firſt, who teſtified a marvellous reſentment, to ſee *Bœotia* his Country ſo ill uſed (as he thought) by *Herodotus*; and the *Thebans* charged with an infamy, altogether inſupportable, on the ſubject of the *Perſian* War. This, he ſaid, was the motive, which induced him, to compoſe that little Treatiſe of the *malignity of Herodotus*, where he accuſes him, of having maliciouſly taxed the honour, not only of the *Thebans*, and *Corinthians*: but almoſt of all the *Greeks*, to oblige the *Medes*; and raiſe the glory of his Country higher, in the perſon of *Artemiſia* Queen of *Halicarnaſſus*, whoſe Heroick actions, in the battel of *Salamin*, he ſo exaggerates, that this Lady alone makes the greateſt part of his Narration. *Plutarch* confeſſes that, it is one of the beſt writ, and moſt charming peices that can be read: but adds that in that agreeable ſweetneſs, *Herodotus* makes men ſwallow the poyſon of his detraction: and he compares the malignity, which he imputes to him, to Cantharides covered with Roſes. Some write

that

that *Plutarch*'s invective is accompanied with so much heat, and appears so full of animosity, that he seems to have all that ill nature himself, with which he endeavours to asperse his Adversary. But I have too much veneration for that worthy *Master of Trajan*, to be fully satisfied with such an answer: and, to say the truth, it is hard to consider, how *Herodotus* speaks of *Themistocles*, especially in his *Urania* (where he accuses him of Rapines, and Intelligence with the *Persians*) without having at least some suspition of that, which *Plutarch* delivers for most certain.

Plutarch *was* Trajan's *Preceptor.*

The Second Authour of very great importance produced against *Herodotus*, is *Dion Chrysostomus*, who though he was not in particular the instructor of an Emperour, does not perhaps deserve less respect than *Plutarch*, since besides that he was probably as deep in the affection of *Trajan*, as the other; by whose side *Suidas* witnesses, that he has been often seen in his Chariot: He pass'd his life in the instruction of mankind, Travelling through the world, where he pronounced, in the midst of the greatest Assemblies, those excellent Orations, which we have of his, to draw men from vices, and to imprint even in their hearts (if he could) a violent love of Vertue.

We see in his Seaven and Thirtieth Oration, that he brings *Herodotus* to the *Corinthians*, to receive from them a recompence for the Greek Histories he had composed, and wherein they were extreamly concerned: He had not yet (saies *Dion*)

Dion) falſified them: and becauſe the *Corinthians* declared that they would not purchaſe honour with money, he changed (as was evident) the relation of what paſſed in the Naval Fight of *Salamin*, accuſing *Adimantus* General of the *Corinthians*, of flying in the beginning of the battel, and betraying by that means the common cauſe of all Greece. *Dion* adds a little after, that he could not allow of what *Herodotus* has left in writing upon that ſubject; the publick Epitaphs, and Inſcriptions of Sepulchers, erected by the conſent of all Greece, in the Iſle of *Salamin* bearing teſtimony againſt him: and he recites part of the ſame Epigrams of *Symonides* the Poet, with which *Plutarch* uſed to convince *Herodotus* of prevarication, ſo that the Authority of his Philoſophical profeſſion, joyned with ſo many Monuments, which ſeem unreproachable, may reasonably at this day divide our minds in a difference, which thoſe of the Ancients could never decide.

However after the loſs of ſo many other Hiſtories, is is certain that Antiquity has left us nothing more inſtructive, or ingenious, than the *Nine Muſes* of *Herodotus*: they contain, as *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* has well expreſſed, the moſt memorable paſſages in the world, during Two Hundred and Forty years, beginning from the Empire of *Cyrus*, firſt King of *Perſia*, and continuing till *Xerxes* his Reign, in whoſe time he lived, as *Photius* and *Diodorus Siculus* inform us: but the laſt was miſtaken, when he writ that *Herodotus*

rodotus his Hiſtory extended from the taking of *Troy* by the Grecians, to the Reign of *Xerxes*; which would involve more than Seaven Hundred Years. *Diodorus* his error proceeded, from our Hiſtorians ſpeaking a little in his Preface, of that Fabulous time; and what was uncertainly reported in his life time of the Reliques of *Troy*: But there is no reaſon to make Reflections on ſo ſmall a matter, and which does not properly belong to his Hiſtory. But it may not be improper to inſert a brief account of the Subject, of each of the Nine Books of our Hiſtoriographer, for the clearer illuſtration of the order of this Hiſtory.

His Firſt relateth the paſſages in the Kingdom of *Lydia*, from *Gyges* to *Cræſus*, and the minority of *Cyrus*, with the Common-wealth of *Athens*, and *Lacedemon*.

The Second deſcribeth *Egypt*, and the ſucceſſions of their Kings.

The Third, the Hiſtory of *Cambyſes*, and the Election of *Darius Hyſtaſpes*.

The Fourth, the unfortunate expeditions of *Darius* into *Scythia*.

The Fifth, the ſtate of *Athens*, *Lacedemon*, and *Corinth*, in the time of *Darius Hyſtaſpes*.

The Sixth, the Original of the *Lacedemonian* Kings; the Wars of *Darius* with the Greeks, and the battel of *Marathro*.

The Seaventh, the expedition of *Xerxes* into *Greece*, with the battel of *Thermopile*.

The Eighth, the battel at *Salamis*.

The

The Ninth, the Battel at *Platea*, by which the *Persians* were expelled *Greece*.

His Stile is rather sweet, large, cleare and easie, than high, concise, and pressing; as that of *Thucydides*. *Dionysius Halicarnasseus* who compared these two Historians together, does almost alwaies allow the advantage to *Herodotus*: His Dialect (which was a fashion of speaking, peculiar to each Country where the Greek tongue was used) is altogether Ionick. And there is found so much resemblance between him and *Homer*, that the Sophister *Longinus* assures us in his Treatise of the *Height of Eloquence*, that none, but *Herodotus* perfectly imitated that *Prince of Poets*, and that he alone is (to use his term) Ὁμηριώτατος, so that it is usual to advise those, who will profit in the understanding of *Homer*, first to read *Herodotus*, to the end that the Prose of the latter, may prepare an easie access to the Poesie of the former, by the affinity of stile between them. *Samos*, was the place where *Herodotus* form'd himself to the Ionick Dialect, and compiled his History (before he retired with a Colony of *Athenians* into *Thurium*, a Citty of that part of *Italy*, which was then called *Great Greece*) for *Suidas* his opinion, conformable to this, is more followed, than that of *Nat. Hist. l. 12. c. 4.* *Pliny* who holds that *Herodotus* chose the time, and place of his voluntary exile, to enterprise so great a Work: in which he is very erronious; for he had compiled his History long before this retirement, as is recorded in the Chronicles

nicles of *Euſebius.* It is true he was born in *Halicarnaſſus*, a Citty of that part of Greece, called *Doris*, a Region confining on the *Meleans*, and becauſe his illuſtrious birth had engaged him in the expulſion of the Tyrant of his Citty, he retired into *Thurium*, where he died, according to the opinion of many; there being even ſome, as *Plutarch* writes, that make this place, where he was buried, to be the place of his Nativity. It is not aſſerted by all, that the book of *Homer's* Life, which follows the *Ninth Muſe*, was compoſed by *Herodotus*; but whoever is the Authour of it, it is very ancient, and makes the labour of thoſe men ridiculous, who even at this day, take great pains to pretend to ſomthing more certain, and conſiderable than is there writ, touching the Country of *Homer.* But this matter concerns not his Hiſtory, which was happily preſerved, notwithſtanding the Epitomy of one *Theopompus*, whom *Suidas* mentions: for *Juſtin* is accuſed (though ſo great an Authour) of having been the cauſe of the loſs of *Trogus Pompeius* his Hiſtory: and the loſs of part of the works of *Livy*, is imputed alſo to *Lucius Florus*, by the Epitomys which both have made, of theſe great works, which probably had been preſerved, but for their abbreviations.

REFLEC-

REFLECTIONS
UPON THE
HISTORY
OF
THUCYDIDES.

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AS thoſe that ſearch for Springs, or conveyers of Water, whom the Latins call *Aquileges*, take it for a good Augury, if they ſee ſmoak ariſe out of certain grounds in the Morning; becauſe it is one of the ſignes, which makes them hope to find therein ſome good, and abounding Springs: ſo they who underſtand beſt the nature of our Souls: rejoice when they obſerve, in our tendereſt years, earneſt deſires of learning; and certain tranſports of ardour in the purſuit of Science, from whence they draw almoſt aſſured conjectures of the merit of our minds, and of their future excellence: upon ſuch a conception was founded the predictions of *Herodotus*, mentioned in the foregoing Chapter, when he obſerv'd *Thucydides* moved even to tears, by hearing him recite his rare Treatiſe

of

of *the Muſes*, in one of the moſt celebrated Aſſemblies of *Greece*. He took that for a ſign of the growing greatneſs of his Genius: and as a Thorn pricks, as it grows, he judged that ſo extraordinary an emotion, in his tender Age, proceeding from ſo rare a Subject, would produce one day ſomething memorable, and be follow'd by thoſe agreeable watchings, and diſquiets, which give Immortality to the learned of Mankind. *Thucydides* lived about Four hundred and Thirty years before the Incarnation of *Chriſt Anno Mundi* 3520. and as he was a perſon of illuſtrious Birth, and a great Fortune, added to the excellency of his Indowments, he had no temptation to betray truth, in what he was to deliver to poſterity; and though ſome have cenſured the manner of his writeing few ever queſtioned the truth of it.

He was rich, and of Royal extraction, but his opulency was augmented by his Marriage to a very rich Wife, a Daughter of a King of *Thrace*: and being very curious to have perfect intelligence of affairs; in order to the compiling of his Hiſtory, he emploied great ſumms of money to procure memorials competent to his deſign, not only from the *Athenians*, but the *Lacedemonians* alſo; that out of his collections from both, the great Tranſactions of that time might be the better, and more impartially diſcovered; as a Monument to inſtruct the Ages to come, for he intituleth his Hiſtory ΚΤΗ͂ΜΑ ἐΣ ἀΕΙ. Which ſignifies

ſies a poſſeſſion for Everlaſting. It comprehends the Peloponneſian War, which laſted one and Twenty years: for though ſome Writers make it to continue ſix years longer, yet others, and perhaps the more judicious obſervers do make, what follows in the ſucceeding ſix years after our *Hiſtoriographer* had ended his work, to be rather the conſequences of that War, than truly a part of it: but what was deficient in the affairs of thoſe years, was ſince ſupplied by *Theopompus*, and created on by *Xenophon*, who begins his Hiſtory, where *Thucydides* ended. There are ſome Criticks, that do not believe his Eighth Book (according to the ordinary diviſion) to have been written by him: ſome aſcribe it to his Daughter: others to *Xenophon*, or *Theopompus*: but the more diſcerning part beleeve the contrary.

When the *Peloponneſian* War began to break out, *Thucydides* conjectured truly that it would prove an argument worthy of his labour; and it no ſooner began, than he began his Hiſtory; purſuing the ſame not in that perfect manner, in which we now ſee it; but by way of Commentary, or plain Regiſter of the actions and paſſages thereof, as from time to time they fell out, and came to his knowledg: but ſuch a Commentary it was, as might (perhaps) deſerve to be preferred before a Hiſtory written by another: hence it is very probable, that the *Eighth Book* is left the ſame it was, when he firſt writ it, neither beautified with Orations, nor ſo well ce-

Hobbs *in the life of* Thucydides.

mented at the transitions, as the former seaven Books are. And though he began to write as soon as ever the War was on foot; yet he began not to perfect and polish the History, till after he was banished, and why he did not refine his last Book equal to the rest, is not known; for he outlived the whole War as appears by what he relates in his fifth Book, where he saies, he lived in banishment Twenty years, after his charge at *Amphipolis*, which was in the Eighth year of that War, which in the whole, by the largest computation lasted but seven and twenty years.

It is hard to judge, whether the method and disposition of the History, or the Stile of it, be most to be praised; since he hath in both shewed himself so great a Master, that none that have writ since, have exceeded him in either. As to the disposition, we shall in this place only observe, that in his first Book, he hath first, by way of proposition, derived the State of Greece from its Infancy, to the vigorous stature it then was at, when he began to write: and next declareth the causes both real, and pretended, of the War whereof he was to write: In the rest, in which he handleth the War it self, he followeth distinctly and purely the order of time throughout, relating what came to pass from year to year, and subdividing each year into a Summer, and a Winter. The grounds and motives of every action he sets down before the action it self, either narratively, or in the form of deliberative Orati-

Orations, in the persons of such, as from time to time bare sway in the Common Wealth. After the actions, when there is just occasion, he giveth his judgment of them, shewing by what means the success came, either to be furthered, or hindered.

His style is better discovered, by what the most excellent of the ancient Writers have expressed of it, than by my Pen. *Cicero*, in his second Book *de Oratore*, writes thus; *Thucydides*, (in my opinion) in the art of expression, exceeded all that went before; for he so abounds in matter, that the number of his sentences, doth almost equal the number of his words: and in them he is so apt, and so concise, that one cannot discern, whether his words do more illustrate his sentences, or his sentences, his words. As for his *Dialect*, it is purely *Attick*, and *Photius* judges, that as *Herodotus* should be a rule to such as would be perfect in the *Ionick* style: so *Thucydides* is the most excellent example, one can propose to himself, of a language purely *Attick*. He is reproached nevertheless, of having too much affected the reviving of ancient words, which were, even in his time, obsolete, and of having likewise taken a liberty to compose new ones; which has contributed much to render him sometimes so obscure, that even his contemporaries complained, that he was in some places scarce intelligible to his readers. But *Marcellinus*, who described his life, hath writ in his defence, that

he affected obscurity, and rendered himself purposely not intelligible, that he might be onely understood by the learned: yet this obscurity is not found in the narratives of things done, or in the description of places, or of battels; in all which he is most perspicuous, as *Plutarch* testifieth of him. In the Characters of mens humours, and manners, and applying them to affairs of consequence, it is almost impossible, not to be obscure, to ordinary capacities, in what words soever one deliver his mind. If therefore *Thucydides* in his Orations, or in the description of a Sedition, or other thing of that kind, be not easily understood; it is of those onely that cannot penetrate into the nature of such things, and not from his intricacy of expression.

Dionysius Halicarnassæus observes, that *Herodotus* has great advantages over *Thucydides*, in the choice of the Subjects whereof they both treated; for the extent of the matter treated of by the *first*, is more diffused, and therefore seems more agreeable then that of the latter. His aim is to relate all the most memorable things, done by the *Greeks*, and *Barbarians*, during the space of two or three hundred years, which comprehends so many great actions, so various, and worthy to be known, that the relation of them cannot but be grateful to the reader. Whereas *Thucydides* hath shut himself up almost to the space of seven and twenty years, which is not only a very narrow compass; but also the most unfortunate,

he could chuse in all the Greek History: which contains few memorable actions, and those grievous to have been recorded to posterity. The same *Dionysius* finds much fault with the order, *Thucydides* uses in the distribution of his matter, representing, by half years, all that happened in divers places; without mingling the successes of the Winter, with those of the Summer, so that he is found to leave things imperfect, to pass to others, which make the memory of the former lost, when he proceeds to continue the History to the following half year. And *Monsieur de la Mothe le Vayer*, our Author, improves this reflection of *Dionysius*; certainly (saies he) there is nothing troubles the mind more than this interruption; and he never reaps any profit from an Historical narration, who doth not end the things he treats of, till he has jumbled together an infinite number of actions. This is good (continues he) in nothing but Romances, where this artifice is purposely used to render their faults less apparent; but truth loves to shew it self altogether and intire, which *Herodotus* knew how to practise incomparably better than any one. He never leaves an event, till he has represented it as far as it extends, and when he has fully contented the curiosity of his Reader, he passes so well to other successes; or as the Rhetoricians say, uses such due and fit transitions, that the mind is carried on, not only without resistance, but even with pleasure and transport. But Mr.

Hobbs, who has more curiously than any, considered the History of *Thucydides*, very fully answers these objections: To the first he saies, that the principal and most necessary office of him that will write a History, is to take such an argument, as is both within his power well to handle, and profitable to posterity that shall read it: which he saies *Thucydides* hath done better then *Herodotus*. For *Herodotus* undertook to write of those things, of which it was impossible for him to know the truth: but *Thucydides* writeth of one War, the beginning and conclusion whereof he was certainly able to inform himself: and by propounding in his proem the miseries of it, he shews it was a great War, and worthy not to be conceal'd from posterity; for men profit more by looking at adverse events, than on those that are prosperous.

To the second, namely the order of distribution, he saies, whoever shall read the History of *Thucydides* attentively, shall more distinctly conceive of every action this way, than the other: and the method is more natural; for as much as his purpose being to write of one *Peloponnesian* War, he hath this way incorporated all the parts thereof into one body, so that there is unity in the whole; and the several narrations are conceived only as parts of that. Whereas the other way he had but sowed together many little Histories, and left the *Peloponnesian* War (which he took for his Subject) in a manner unwritten; for neither any part, nor

the

the whole, could justly have carried such a Title.

The same Mr. *Hobbs*, who mentions many other objections of *Dionysius* against *Thucydides*, and fully and learnedly answers them; does arraign him for his censures, as done rather to purchase glory to himself in the action, than to instruct Mankind. For having first preferred *Herodotus*: his Country-man a *Halycarnassean*, before *Thucydides*, who was accounted, even by himself, the best of all Historians that ever writ: and then, conceiving that his own History might be thought, not inferior to that of *Herodotus*, by this computation, he saw the honour of the best *Historiographer* falling on himself; wherein he hath manifestly misreckoned in the opinion of all the learned.

Thucydides has the advantage, of having first thought upon the animation of History, that was before a body languishing; which appears in his exact Orations, composed in all the three sorts of Oratory; the *demonstrative*, the *deliberative*, and the *Judicial*: *Herodotus* had attempted the same thing; but he was content to use some *oblique* speeches, and those almost ever imperfect, never proceeding so far as *Thucydides*, who, in this way of writing, left nothing to be objected against by the severest Orators. And it is said that *Demosthenes* was so well pleased with his History, that he took the pains to transcribe it Eight times.

By

By the consent of all he has the glory of not mingling Fables, with his true Narrations. If he is constrained to say a word of *Tereus* King of *Thrace*; and *Progne* in his *Second Book*: or if in describing *Sicily*, in the beginning of the *Sixth*, he finds himself obliged to speak of the *Cyclops*, and *Lastrigones*, as Ancient Inhabitants of a part thereof, it is so lightly: that the Dogs of *Egypt* touch not so hastily the water of *Nilus*, whose Crocodiles they fear, as he passes nimbly over a fabulous circumstance, to avoid the least entrance of a lye into his writings. And yet he has not been so happy, to be without the reproach, of not having alwaies spoken truth: for *Josephus* affirms that he was taxed of having falsified his History in many places: but at the same time he accuses all the Grecians of imposture; and if one observes the commendation, he gives him afterwards, of having been the most exact, and cautious of all his Country-men, in compiling a History; it will appear, rather to proceed from the capricious humour of his Sect, than the demerit of an *Historiographer*: for as he was a Jew, who made it his business to discredit all Pagan History, he thought he ought to say something, to the prejudice of *Thucydides*, when he had spared none of the rest. I shall add here, that *Thucydides* did not onely lay down in his History all sorts of Orations, as we before observed; but took the liberty to insert Dialogues, as that betwixt the *Athenian* Generals,

rals, and the Inhabitants of the Isle of *Melos*, which comprehends a great part of the fifth Book to the end. But those, that have an aversion to digressions, have no reason to hate them in this Authour, who touches them with great Art; as amongst others the conspiracy of *Harmodius*, and *Aristogiton*, in the sixth Book, which may justifie many other excursions, or like Sallies, that are often censured with two little reason: and notwithstanding all his defects, the most judicious of the learned yeild him the prize of Eloquence: and not one of the Ancients deny him the glory, of having seconded *Pindar*, in the Grandeur and Majesty of expression.

X

REFLEC-

REFLECTIONS UPON THE HISTORY OF XENOPHON.

XENOPHON does not owe the fame, he has had ſo many Ages, to Hiſtory alone; for Philoſophy and Arms have contributed to it: and I believe that, for theſe three Qualifications, he may be as well termed * *Triſmegiſtus*, as *Hermes* the Ægyptian; ſince he is univerſally acknowledged, to be a very great Captain, Philoſopher, and Hiſtoriographer. He has, common with *Ceſar*, the firſt and laſt Qualities; and they are not deceived, who find a third reſemblance in their ſtile; Purity, Eloquence, and ſweetneſs being equally natural to them both. They have each an agreeable manner of expreſſion, without art, or affectation; though no art or affectation can come near it. The Surname of *Apes Attica*, and *Athenian Muſe*, with which all the Ancients have dignified *Xenophon*,

* *Ter Maximus: For* Hermes *was ſo called, becauſe he was a King, a Prieſt, and a Philoſopher.*

phon, is not only a witneſs, of the beauty of his language, and of that hony-like ſweetneſs, which the Graces ſeem to have poured on it, with their own hands, (to ſpeak like *Quintilian*) but it is a particular mark of his Attick Dialect, wherein he excelled ſo much, that *Diogenes Laertius*, writing his life, gives no other reaſon for the bad intelligence, that was between him, and *Plato*, than the jealouſie they conceived, one againſt the other, upon that account. Yet *Marcellinus*, who attributes to *Thucydides*, in his Elogy, the height of Eloquence, gives the loweſt rank to *Xenophon*, placing *Herodotus* between both: and *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*, when he obſerves that *Xenophon* has often imitated *Herodotus*, adds, that the former was alwaies much inferiour to the latter.

Xenophontis ſermo eſt quidem mel-le dulcior. Tullius lib. de Clar. oratoribus ad Brutum. Et eodem libro paulò inferius ſcribit, Xenophontis vero muſas quaſi loquutas ferunt.

But notwithſtanding this, it is very conſiderable, that *Xenophon* was the firſt Philoſopher, who applied himſelf to the compiling of a Hiſtory, which, in what relates to the Græcian affairs, treats of the Tranſactions of eight and forty years; and begins where *Thucydides* ended: ſhewing *Alcibiades* his return to his Country, whom *Thucydides*, in his laſt Book, left meditating upon that retreat. Nor is it a ſmall glory to *Xenophon*; but a proof of extraordinary Honeſty, to have freely expoſed, to the publick, the writings of *Thucydides*, which he might have ſuppreſt, or delivered as his own, if he would have been a Plagiary, and have aſcribed, to himſelf, the works of

of another, which many others have done, and do daily practiſe. Beſides the continuation of the Hiſtory begun by *Thucydides*, *Xenophon* has left us, that of the enterpriſe of young *Cyrus*, againſt his brother *Artaxerxes*, and the memorable retreat, of ten thouſand Græcians, from the extremities of *Perſia*, to their own Country; in which he had almoſt the whole honour, as well for his councel, and diſcipline, as the excellency of his conduct.

* *Cyrus ille à Xenophonte, non ad Hiſtoriæ fidem ſcriptus eſt, ſed ad effigiem Juſti Imperii* Tullius *ad Quintum Fratrem.*

What he writ, of the inſtitution of the *Elder* * *Cyrus*, is not an hiſtorical Treatiſe, but purely Moral, where he drew the figure of a great Prince, without confining himſelf to the truth, except of two or three events (*viz.*) the taking of *Babylon*; and the captivity of *Cræſus*. All the reſt is feigned, and has nothing in it commendable, but the agreeableneſs of the Fable: as *Hermogenes* has well obſerved, on the ſubject of *Panthea*'s death, who ſlew her ſelf, with three Eunuchs, upon the body of her Husband *Abradatus*, in the ſeventh Book of that inſtitution.

Theſe compoſitions of *Xenophon*, of which we have ſpoken, are ſuch, that as they may ſerve for a rule, to the firſt Miniſters of State, in all the extent of Politicks (according to the excellent judgment, which *Dion Chryſoſtomus* makes of them) ſo likewiſe they are capable, to form great Captains, and give the world Generals; and we have two notable examples of this, among the Romans; for they acknowledg, that their

Scipio,

Scipio, surnamed *Africanus*, had, almost always; *Xenophons* works, in his hands, and that nothing made *Lucullus* capable to oppose such a formidable enemy, as King *Mithridates*; but the reading the writings of *Xenophon*. Whereof *Lucullus* made so good use by Sea, (he who before had a very small insight, into the affairs of War) that he knew enough afterwards, to gain those famous Victories, which few of the learned are ignorant of, and whereby the most considerable Provinces of *Asia*, became tributary to the Romans. *Cicer. 2. Tusc. qu.*

Xenophon has writ upon divers Subjects; and it seems that, in many of them, there has been Emulation, between him and *Plato*, for they both composed, a defence of *Socrates*; and many other moral, and politick Treatises, according to the observation of *Diogenes*, in *Plato*'s life, without any mentioning, one another, with reciprocal praise, whatsoever occasion presented it self, among so many Dialogues by them exposed, in the name of *Socrates* with his Disciples. Some will have it, that *Xenophon* represented, in very lively colours, the defects of one *Menon* a *Thessalian*, in the end of the Second Book of *Cyrus* his expedition; for no other reason, than that he was a friend to *Plato*. But as for that other Book, *de Æquivocis*, printed an Age ago, under the name of *Xenophon*, it is to be held, one of the impostures of *Annius Viterbius*. In like manner, some would have a certain supposititious History, of the Siege

* *Libellus de Æquivocis Voss. de hist. græc. lib. 1. cap. 5.*

Siege of *Troy*, to pass for current, under the name of one *Dictys Cretensis*, a Companion of *Idomeneus*, and of one *Dares* a Phrygian: and that it was translated, out of Greek, into Latin, by *Cornelius Nepos*; when the Stile bewraies, that he never thought upon the work; for it has nothing of that inimitable purity, and eloquence, which appears, in his lives of the *Greek Captains*, and in that of *Attieus*, writ by the same Author: such impostures are offensive, and cannot be too much detested, by the Lovers of truth. And yet some there are, so led away by their affection for Fables, that they feed themselves with such trifles, and so build upon those idle foundations; as thereby to encourage others, to impose the like cheats upon Mankind. We have lately seen, the Itinerary of *Alexander Geraldin*, Bishop of St. *Dominick*, who pretends, to have found, over all *Æthiopia*, on this, and the other side of the Line, Roman Inscriptions, and Antiquities of such value; that all others, which the rest of the Earth affords, would be despicable, if the worst of his were true: But it is observable, that none before, or after him, ever saw them: nor is there any Schollar, so unexperienced in this sort of reading, that cannot easily discover, the falsehood of his observations, so unlikely they are. Is it not a great impertinence to raise pillars, to testifie the Conquest, and absolute dominion of the Romans, in places, where apparently, none

none of them ever ſet foot: and in direct oppoſition, to all we have from their own Hiſtories? The ſame judgment is to be made, of thoſe *Hetruſcian* or *Tuſcan* Antiquities, which we have of a freſher date, from one *Inghiramius*; whoſe impudence is unpardonable, for deceiving the world at ſuch a rate. And perhaps it were not unfit to have puniſhments eſtabliſhed, to ſignaliſe the infamy, of thoſe that dare expoſe, to the publick, ſpiritual Aliments, ſo corrupted and Mortal as thoſe are; for no poiſon operates with more violence, and bad effects upon the body, then errors and impoſtures, upon our minds, when we are infected with them.

Speron. Speroni dial. di Xenoph.

An Author, of the laſt Age, accuſes *Xenophon*, of having loved *Ageſilaus*, ſo paſſionately, that not only, in his Book which he writ of his praiſe, but likewiſe, in his Hiſtory, he makes raſh judgments in his favour, and extols his Victories, much more than the Laws of Hiſtory will permit. But this Capricio of an Italian, will be approved of by very few, becauſe it arraigns the judgment of all Antiquity, which never ſpoke ſo much to the diſadvantage of *Xenophon*. And *Tully*, who mentions his praiſe of that Prince, does not accuſe him of any indecency in it.

unus Xenophontis libellus, in eo rege laudando, facilè omneis imagines omnium, ſtatuaſque ſuperavit. Tullii Epiſtol. lib. 5. ad Q. filium.

As for his Stile, one may ſee, what *Hermogenes* writes of it, who commends it, eſpecially for its ſweetneſs, and ſimplicity, which he makes

makes, one of the principal Ornaments of Language, and in this respect, he by much prefers *Xenophon*, to *Plato*.

He was, by Birth, an *Athenian*, and the Son of one *Grillus*, and lived about four hundred years, before the Nativity of *Christ*.

REFLECTIONS UPON THE HISTORY OF POLYBIUS.

AS *Xenophon* was the first Philosopher, that applied himself to write Histories, so *Polybius* has the advantage to have given us the most considerable one extant: and made it appear, more clearly, than any other Historiographer, that History is, as it were, the Metropolitan of Philosophy; to use the terms of the Historian, of whom we shall write, in the Chapter following. But what is said of *Polybius*, might be more reasonably admitted, if the whole body of his works, were now extant, of which only the least part remains; since of fourty Books, which he composed, there are, but the five first, entire; with the Epitomy of the following twelve, which is continued, to the beginning of the Eighteenth. Many are of opinion, that this Epitomy was writ, by the great asser-

Diod. Sic. initio lib. 1.

tour of Roman Liberty, *Marcus Brutus*, because it is known, that he delighted in nothing, so much as in reading History, being a man, so difficult to please, that *Cicero*'s works did not affect him, and therefore he imployed his leasure, in Epitomising the History of *Polybius*, finding therein, besides that instruction wherewith it abounded, the consolation, he needed, in the last, and most unfortunate dales of his life. The Subject of this History, were all the most considerable actions in the world, from the beginning of the second Punick War, to the end of that, which terminated the differences, of the Romans, with the Macedonian Kings, by the utter ruine of their Monarchy. This includes the space of Three and Fifty years; the events of which, *Polybius* shewed, in the last Eight and Thirty Books: for the Two first, are not so much of the body of his History, as they serve for a preparative, in a summary narration, of the taking of *Rome*, by the *Gaules*, under the conduct of *Brennus*, and of that which followed, until the first year, of the second War, against the *Carthaginians*. But though the affairs, of the Roman Empire, were much more exactly described by him, than the rest of those, that writ of that Subject; because his chief aim was to omit nothing, that might give a perfect information of them: yet he neglected not also, to represent the concerns, of all the other powers of the Universe, unfolding the interests, of the Kings of

Syria,

Syria, *Egypt*, *Macedon*, *Pontus*, *Cappadocia*, and *Persia*, with those of all the different Dynasties, which were then in Greece. And therefore he gave the name of Catholick or Universal to his History, as informing us of the destinies of all the Nations of the Earth; there being scarce any at that time which had not some difference with, or dependance on the Romans. He received, at his Birth, great gifts from Nature, which favoured his enterprise; and that chance of fortune, which made him come to Rome, was no small advantage to him; since he is indebted to it, not only for the best part of his learning, but the important friendship, he contracted with *Scipio*, and *Lelius*, which contributed much to the celebration of his History, to posterity. But the pains, he took in the acquisition of all, that could put him in a capacity of writing it well, and labouring for eternity, seems worthy to be considered. He thought it was required of a good Historiographer, to have seen the best part of those things he related, according to the Etymologie of the name, given by the Grecians, to that profession. He knew the errors, which the ignorance of places, made *Timeus* commit; for he reproached him, in his Twelfth Book, that having trusted to the reports of others, and not travelled himself, he might be proved guilty of many errors. And possibly having learned the Latin Tongue, with great care, he remembred the expressions,

A. Gellius Noct. Att. l. 5. c. 18.

which *Plautus* (who lived an Age before him) makes *Messenio* say to *Menechmus*, that unless they had a design to write a History, he thought, they had seen enough of the World.

—— Quin nos hinc domum
Redimus, nisi si Historiam scripturi sumus.

So much they, at that time, thought travel necessary to an Historiographer, who could make no exact description, nor be confident of the authority of his memorials, from whatsoever place he should have them, if he had not rectified them, by his own sight, viewing himself the Countries, he intended to treat of. *Polybius* resolved therefore, to know exactly many places, as well of *Europe*, as *Asia*, and *Africa*; whether he went purposely, to be assured of what he might write of them. And he used *Scipio*'s Authority, to procure Vessels, fit to Sail on the Atlantick Ocean, judging that, what he should there observe might prove useful to his intentions. It is certain, that he passed the Alps, and one part of the Gaules, to represent truly *Hannibals* passage into *Italy*, and fearing to omit the least circumstance, of the same *Scipio*'s actions, he travelled all over Spain, and stopt particularly at new *Carthage*, that he might carefully study the scituation of it. But now we are mentioning, the famous Subverter of Carthage, *Scipio Æmilianus* Grand Son, by adoption, of *Scipio Africanus* (who vanquished *Hannibal*, after he had compelled him to leave *Italy*) it may not be improper

improper to insert, what *Polybius* himself left in writing, concerning the strict friendship, which was between them two. I shall borrow the discourse of it, from a fragment of his one and thirtieth Book, taken from the Collections, of *Constantinus Porphyrogennetus*, under the Title, of Vice, and Vertue; he tells us in that place, that this reciprocal affection had its rise, from the pleasure they took together, to talk of books, and communicate them, one to another. This was the reason why *Scipio* employed all his own, and his Brother *Fabius* his credit, to obtain leave for *Polybius*, to live at *Rome*, when the other Grecians, (which were sent for, as well as he, to remain as Hostages) were distributed through all the rest of the Cities in *Italy*. One day, when they had Dined all Three together, *Scipio*, being alone with *Polybius*, after dinner (blushing a little) complained to him, that he alwaies addressed his speech at Table to his Brother. Perhaps, said he, you do it, because you see me less active than he; and that I am careless to seek fame by publick pleading, in which the Youth of this City employ their time, and by this measure, you, and many others of my friends, may conceive amiss of me, which will be no small trouble to me. *Polybius* soon perceived the commendable jealousie of *Scipio*, who was not full Eighteen years old, and assuring him, of the esteem he had of his person, as one most worthy to bear the many illustrious names, which his

A custome in use amongst the greatest of the Roman Nobility.

Predeceſſors had left him, he excuſed himſelf, in reſpect of *Fabius*, to whom, he ſaid, being the eldeſt, civility often required him to direct his diſcourſe, which he praied him not to apprehend amiſs in him: and after this little expoſtulation, which was followed by a mutual proteſtation of good will, *Scipio* never received any one, into ſuch a ſtrict or cordial familiarity, *Lelius* excepted, as he did *Polybius*.

I thought the circumſtances of this conference, between Two ſuch great men, ſo much the more conſiderable, beſides that thereby we make ſome diſcovery of their Genius, which alwaies appeats, more in a private diſcourſe, than in any the moſt ſerious actions, that I may, by this inſtance, refute the impertinence of a modern Writer, who had the impudence, to make many injurious reflections on *Polybius*. It is one *Sebaſtian Maccius*, that treating of Hiſtory, and declaming againſt digreſſions, took occaſion, to condemn thoſe of *Saluſt* and *Polybius*, indecently calling them, baſe conditioned Fellows, and men, ſprung out of the dregs of the People. And the more to defame the latter, he particularly adds, that he was a meer pedant, given to *Scipio*, to ſerve him, in the Quality of a Preceptor. But this is too malicious, to paſs without an anſwer, on *Polybius* his account, deferring, what may be ſaid in behalf of *Saluſt*, till we treat of the Latin Hiſtorians. None that converſe with Books can be ignorant, that *Polybius* was of *Megalopolis*, a City

City in *Arcadia*: and that he was Son, of *Lycortas*, General of the *Achaians*, which was the most puiſſant Republick then in *Greece*. That great State ſent them, both Father and Son, in Quality of Ambaſſadors, to King *Ptolomæus* ſurnamed *Epiphanes*; and the Son had afterwards the ſame Honour, when he was deputed, to go to the Roman Conſul, which made War upon King *Perſeus* in *Theſſaly*. His Birth then was very illuſtrious, contrary to what was ſaid, by *Macrinus*, and it is not probable, that a perſon, ſo exerciſed in the affairs of State, and accuſtomed to great employments, as *Polybius* was, ſhould be known to *Scipio*, for no other purpoſe, than to inſtruct him in the Rudiments of Grammar. Nor has any, but this detractor, had ſo lewd an imagination of him. All the Ancients, who writ of *Polybius*, have done it, with great commendations, and many of them eſteemed *Scipio*, for nothing more, than his choice of ſo faithful a Counſellour, and his carrying him with him, in all his military expeditions. *Cato* reproached a Roman Conſul, for having had a Poet, amongſt thoſe of his train, when he went to viſit a Province, out of *Italy*. I will not ſay, he ſhewed in that too much of the Philoſophical ſeverity, of which he made profeſſion; though it is ſaid, that he would himſelf, ſometimes, quit that humour, when he feaſted with his friends: but it is certain, that no man ever found fault, with the choice, *Scipio* made, of the perſon of *Polybius*, to accompany

Cicer. l. 1. Tuſc. qua.

pany him, for he was neither confidered as a Poet, nor meer Grammarian, if to be fuch may be accounted faults, the fragment we quoted is expreſs enough, to aſſure us of the contrary, in purſuance indeed of the diſcourſe he uſed, to pleaſe *Scipio*, he added, that neither his Brother *Fabius*, nor he, ſhould ever want inſtructors, in what related to letters, which he might decently enough ſay, conſidering the great number of learned men, which came daily to *Rome*, from all parts of *Greece*: and in further compliance with him, that no man ſhould be more zealous, or induſtrious, than he, to improve his thoughts to things worthy of his Birth, and what might be expected from a ſucceſſor of the *Scipio's* and *Æmylii*. After this conference, ſaies my Author, *Polybius* was hardly ever out of *Scipio's* company, who communicated to him his moſt important affairs, and made uſe of his Counſel, in all the occurrences of the great employments he had. But who can be ſafe from the inſolence of detractors, when there will be found ſome that vilifie this great Hiſtorian, though he was honored, in Inſcriptions, and Statues, by his Country-men, who beſt knew his Qualities (as may be ſeen in *Pauſanias*) to acknowledge thereby, the eſteem they had of his benefits and rare merit.

Conſtantinus Porphyrogenetus ut ſupra.

In Arcad.

There might perhaps be more reaſon, to lay to his charge, as ſome have done, his not having been religious enough, in his devotion to

the

the Deity; for though he speaks, in many places, very advantagiously of the worship of the Gods; as when he attributes all the glory of *Arcadia* his Country, to the great care they had, to serve the Altars: and elsewhere professes, that he abhors the outragiousness of War, that causes the destruction of Temples; which he makes to be a most capital crime. Yet he declares so formally, in another place, against the Divinity, and all those, which in his time, held the opinion, of the pains of Hell, that it appears evidently, he believed nothing thereof. And about the end of his Sixth Book, he observes, that superstition, which was accounted a vice by all other Nations, past for a Vertue, among the Romans. If one could, saies he, compose a Republick, only of wise and vertuous men; all those fabulous opinions, of Gods, and Hell, would be altogether superfluous: But since there is no State, where the people are not (as we see them) subject, to all sorts of irregularities, and evil actions, one must, to bridle them, make use of those imaginary fears, that our Religion imprints, and the panick terrors, of the other world, which the Ancients have so prudently introduced to this end that they cannot be contradicted now by any but rash persons, or those who are not well in their Wits. Let them who defend *Polybius* in every thing (as *Casaubon* has done) say what they please, on his behalf, they can never make him pass (after so formal a Declaration)

for

for a man, very zealous in the Religion of his time. They would, perhaps, do him better service, to speak of him, as of a Soul, illuminated by Heaven, in the darkness of Paganism; and who believing, but in one *Principle*, or only Deity, laughed at all those, which the Idolatry then reigning, made to be adored, as well as at the *Elysian Fields*, *Cerberus*, and *Rhadamanthus*, which were represented to those Proselites. Thus, in my opinion, he may be best acquitted (if it be possible) of the crime of impiety, putting him, in the rank of *Heraclitus*, and *Socrates*, whom, St. *Justin* more charitably, than perhaps truly, maintains to be Christians, long before Christianity.

Besides the Forty Books of his Universal History, it is credible, by one of the Letters, which *Cicero* writ to *Lucceius*, that he made a particular Treatise of the War of *Numantia*. His great Age furnished him with the convenience to write much, since we understand, from *Lucian*, that he passed the great Climacterical year, and died not, till he was Eighty two years old, about Two Hundred and Thirty years, before *Christ*. He confesses himself, that the advice of *Lelius*, which he often required in their ordinary conferences, and the memorials, which that great person furnished him withal; were very advantagious to him. But, as to his manner of writing, the Ancients agree not, that he ought to be accounted, eloquent. *Dionysius Halicarnasseus*, the most strict

Lib. 5. Ep. *In Matr.*

and

and auſtere critick among them, names him impolite, and reproaches him with negligence, both in the choice of words, and ſtructure of compoſition of his periods. His excellency is nevertheleſs ſuch, in all other things, that one ought to think, that he neglected words, as of little importance, to tie himſelf entirely, to things more ſerious. *Titus Livius* is not thought very ingenious, to give him only the commendation, of a Writer not to be deſpiſed, ſince whole books of his, are ſeen tranſcribed, word for word, in his *Decades*. It is ſure, we have no Hiſtorian, of whom one may learn more, in matter of government, and civil prudence, than of *Polybius*. He does not think a ſimple narration ſufficient, but moves pathetically; and inſtructs no leſs like a Philoſopher, than an Hiſtorian. *Patritius* is miſtaken, to reprehend him for that method of writing, without conſidering the affinity, which has alwaies been, between Hiſtory, and Philoſophy, which is ſuch, that the former, has been often defined to be, a Philoſophy filled with examples. Perhaps, a meer Commentator is condemnable, when he acts the Philoſopher too much, and ſtretches ſo far that way; which cannot be ſaid of one, that undertakes to write a juſt Hiſtory. We learn from *Suidas*, that one *Scylax* (whom he confounds, with a certain Mathematician of that name) made an invective againſt *Polybius*, which was not, poſſibly, more reaſonable, than the cenſure of the forementioned *Patritius*.

Voſſius de hiſt. græcis c. 19.

tius. I cannot also be reconciled to those, who are scandalised, that he called one of the Capes or Promontories of *Sicily*, *Pelorus*, long before that name was imposed on it. For, treating of the first Punick War, he calls the place, *Pelorus*, where that innocent *Pilot* was interred, whom *Hannibal* slew, long after, so unjustly, and which gave it's name of *Pelorus*, to the Promontory now called *Capo di Faro* (if this Etymologie, which is combated by the learned *Cluverius*, may be received.) However it is a way of speaking, which the Compilers of the holy Scriptures practised when it was necessary to make a thing better understood. He is, it may be, not excusable, for having, contrary to the truth of History, flatter'd his *Scipio*, to that degree, as to make him exercise a memorable example of continency, towards the fair Spanish Captive, with whom nevertheless he was so taken, that he could never resolve to restore her. *Valerius Antias* is he, who charges him with this crime, in *Aulus Gellius*; which seems to me so much the more strange; because *Polybius* compared History (which has not truth for a Guide) to an Animal, whose Eies are put out, and he pretended, after *Timæus*, to render truth, as essential to an History, as rectitude to a Rule; in which resemblance, he may be reasonably contradicted, as I remember, I have done in another work. The great affection, he had for *Scipio*, puts me in mind of the excellent counsel he gave him, that whensoever he went abroad, he

L. 6. Noct. Att. c. 8.

Lib. 1. hist.

Tr. of Hist. upon Sand.

he should never return to his House, till he had first endeavoured, to gain the friendship of some particular person, by obliging him all the wales, that lay in his power. And although this was a very useful advice, to him that received it, I mention it, in this place, to shew the great humanity, which appeared, in him that gave it. We are indebted, to *Pope Nicolas the Fifth*, that great friend of the Muses, and restorer of letters, for the first publication of the Works of *Polybius*, at that time, when the Turks invaded *Constantinople*, though they are much augmented since in the latter Editions.

REFLEC-

REFLECTIONS UPON THE HISTORY OF DIODORUS SICULUS.

CLUVERIUS, one of the most exact of our modern Geographers, teaches us that *Agyrium* (of which *Diodorus Siculus* speaks, as of the place of his birth) is now called *San Filippo d' Agyrone*. It is a great honor to this little place, to have given to its Isle such a person, without whom no body would know its Antiquity; nor many things which render it very considerable. He saies in the beginning of his History (which stands instead of a preface to it) that he was no less than Thirty years in writing it, in the Capital City of the World, where he gathered Notions, which he could not have elsewhere; confessing that the vast-

Rome.

vastness of the Roman Empire had extreamly favoured his design. But nevertheless he did not omit to go himself, through the greatest part, of the Provinces of *Europe*, and *Asia*; where he was in many dangers, and endured extream labour, that he might not commit the faults, which he had remarked (as he saies) in those, who had medled to speak of places, where they had never been. It does not appear in that place, that he saw *Affrick*, and yet we read in the second Section of his *first Book*, that he travelled to *Ægypt*, in the raign of that *Ptolomy*, who is distinguished from the rest, by the Surname of new *Bacchus*, or *Dionysius*, and who was the first Husband of his Sister *Cleopatra*; whereby one may note, that the best part of *Ægypt* was formerly, of *Asia*, when the Geographers divided it, from *Affrica*, rather by the *Nile*, than the *Red Sea*.

It is not without reason, that *Diodorus* gave his work, the name of an *Historical Library*, since, when it was intire, it had united in one, according to the order of times, all that which other Historians have writ separately: for he had comprised in Forty Books, whereof we have but Fifteen remaining, the most remarkable passages in the World, during the space of Eleven Hundred and Eight and Thirty years, without reckoning, what was comprehended, in his *six first books*, of the more fabulous times, that is to say, of all which had preceded the War of *Troy*. His

History

History is then truly, Oecumenical or Universal, and we ought, so much the more, to bewail what is wanting, since, after the loss of *Berosus*, *Theopompus*, *Ephorus*, *Philistius*, *Callisthenes*, *Timæus*, and such other great Authors, the reading of *Diodorus* alone, repaired in some manner our damnage, having compiled, and digested all their works, in his *Library*. Of the *Six first Books* before mentioned, the *last* is no where to be found, although *Raphael Volaterranus*, and some others, quote it sometimes, as if we had it yet. But if one observes exactly, it will be found, that they misreckon in their account; and that what they report to be in the *Sixth*, is in the precedent *Book*, which *Diodorus* names, the *Insular*, and which is only the *Fifth*. The error proceeds from the first impression, which was all *Latin*, and wherein *Poggius Florentinus*, Author of the translation, which *Pope Nicolaus Quintus* desired of him, made Two Books of the *first*, because *Diodorus* divided it into Two different Sections: By this means the *second* became the *Third*; and consequently that which was but the *fifth*, was taken for the *sixth*, as if we had lost no more, of the fabulous Antiquities of *Greece*, contained in the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth book, than of those of the *Barbarians*, which we have intire, in the *first*, *second*, and *third*.

The Greeks called all Nations, but themselves, by that name.

The remainder of *Diodorus his Library* consists in *Two parts*, which are squared by *Two Epochies* of

of note. The *first* reaches from the destruction of *Troy*, to the death of *Alexander the Great*: for the understanding whereof, and all which happened in the world during that time, he employed *Eleven whole Books*, which are from the *Sixth* to the beginning of the *Eighteenth*; of this number the four first are lost, but we have the other *Seaven* remaining. The *Second Epoche* stretches from the time in which the first ended, to that of the Conquests of *Julius Cæsar* in *Gallia*; when he made *England*, and the *Brittish Ocean*, the limits of the *Roman Empire*, on the North side. The marvellous successes of all this interval, were described in *Three and Twenty Books*; but there remains no more, than the *Eighteenth*, the *Nineteenth*, and the *Twentieth*, to our time: the others unto the *Fortieth* being all lost, except some small fragments, taken from *Eusebius*, *Photius*, and some others, who used *Diodorus* his Text, in their works. *Henricus Stephanus* affirms, out of a Letter communicated to him by Mr *Lazaro Baif*, that all the works of *Diodorus* are found entire, in some corner of *Sicily*. I confess I would willingly go, almost to the end of the World, if I thought to find there so great a Treasure. And I shall envy those, that will come after us, this important discovery, if it shall be made, when we shall be no more, and that instead of *Fifteen Books* only, which we now enjoy, they shall possess the whole *Forty*.

Since *Diodorus* ſpeaks of *Julius Caſar*, which he does in more than one place, and alwaies with an attribute of ſome *Divinity*, as it is the cuſtome of the *Pagans*, he cannot be more Ancient than he; which is about Forty Eight years, before the *Nativity of Chriſt*. But when *Euſebius* writes in his *Chronicles*, that *Diodorus Siculus* lived under this *Emperour*, it ſeems that he limits the life of the *former*, with the reign of the *latter*. Yet *Suidas* prolongs his daies even to *Auguſtus*. And *Scaliger* very well obſerves, in his animadverſions upon *Euſebius*, that *Diodorus* muſt needs have lived to a very great Age, and that he was alive at leaſt half the Reign of *Auguſtus*, ſince he mentions, on the ſubject of the *Olympiads*, the Romans *Biſſextil* year, which name was not uſed, before the *Faſts*, and *Calendar* were corrected, which was done by *Octavius Auguſtus*, to māke the work of his *Predeceſſor* more perfect. We have at this time, in the laſt impreſſion of *Diodorus*, a Fragment of his Seven and Thirtieth Book, which would remove all this difficulty, if it were true: for in it is ſeen the death of *Caſar*, revenged by the *Triumvirat*, on *Brutus*, and *Caſſius*, with the fall of *Anthony*, and the eſtabliſhing of *Auguſtus* in the Empire, for all his life. This would infer that *Diodorus* lived longer, than *Auguſtus*. But that collection, which is ſomewhat larger in *Photius*, ſhews by thoſe whom he calls Illuſtrious, by a Title unknown in the Age of *Diodorus*, that another

Ad annum Num. 1567.

another was the Author of it, or that his Text has received additions from ſome one, who lived long after his time, whence conſequently we cannot make any certain concluſion.

The time of theſe Two Emperors *Ceſar* and *Auguſtus*, is indeed the Age of the beſt *Latin*, as all, who underſtand it, agree: but not ſo of *Greek*; becauſe, even in their time, the *Athenian* Eloquence was already transferred to *Rome*, and that faculty, which delights in command, had quitted the vanquiſhed, to follow the fortune of the victorious, taking their habit, and Language. It is no wonder then, that *Diodorus* is not equal, in this reſpect, to *Herodotus*, *Thucydides*, or *Xenophon*, bing a *Sicilian* onely, and having, added to that, the diſadvantage to write in ſuch a ſeaſon. *Photius* nevertheleſs does not forbear to praiſe his Stile, as being very clear, unaffected, and very proper for his Subject, which is Hiſtory. It is (ſaies he) neither too *Attick*, nor too full of Ancient words. His manner of writing has a juſt mediocrity, between the moſt high Stile, and the other, which the School calls humble and creeping, for its lowneſs, which is alwaies avoided by *Diodorus*. There is certainly more reaſon to credit, that learned *Patriarch* of *Conſtantinople*, who was a moſt exact critick in his Tongue, than *John Bodin*, who though he underſtood Greek much leſs, ventures to give a quite contrary judgment, and reprehend the words, as well as the Stile of *Diodorus*, as if a ſtranger, *Photius Meth. hiſt. c. 5.*

at this day, could ſay any thing worthy conſideration, in that matter, after what has been ſaid by the Ancients, and contrary to the opinion of thoſe, to whom Greek was a maternal language.

5. diſc. de trad. Nor is there more heed to be taken, to the invective of *Lodovicus Vives*, the *Spaniard*, againſt *Diodorus*, than to that of *Bodin*, the *French man*. The laſt blames even the expreſſions, and words: the firſt arraigns the body of his Hiſtory, and the things whereof his narration is compoſed. If we believe *Vives*, there is nothing more vain, than the *Hiſtorical Library*, of our *Sicilian*; and *Pliny* was much to blame, in his opinion, to ſay in his *Preface*, that *Diodorus*, was the firſt of the Greeks, who ſpoke ſeriouſly, and abſtained from writing trifles, I know, the Authority of this accuſer, is not ſmall, he being very learned, in reſpect of his Age, and one of the ornaments of his Country: neither am I ignorant that others beſides him, as *Pighius*, and *Sigonius*, complained of the faults, which *Diodorus* committed in Chronologie, for having followed bad computations. And I conſider that *Vives*, having commented, *Lib.* 18. *Cap.* 40. on the Books of St *Auguſtin*, *de Civitate Dei*, remarked in them, how that great Doctor of the Church, laughed at the *Egyptians*, who ſaid, that they had Records, in their Books, a hundred thouſand years old, to which *Diodorus* his Text is not repugnant: nay he goes farther than this, *Lib.* 2. when he makes mention, of the great knowledg of Heavenly things, which the *Chaldeans* had acquired,

acquired, who bragged that they had made observations upon them, for the space of four hundred seventy and two thousand years, before the conquests, of *Alexander* the *Great* in *Asia*. He had already said, that the *Egyptians* reckoned, *Lib.* 1. some Ten, and others of them, Three and twenty thousand years, from *Isis*, and *Osiris*, to the same *Alexander*: and that their first Kings, who were Gods, did each of them Reign, no less than Twelve Hundred years. This is doubtless that account, which *Vives* could not suffer, and which provoked him, to declare so highly, against *Diodorus*, who will not allow him, to have been praised by *Pliny*, for any other thing, than the Title of his History, which is indeed, neither improper, nor ridiculous, as many of those were, which the other Grecians ordinarily gave to their Books.

But if that may be said to be the onely occasion, which moved *Pliny*, to pronounce this fair Elogy, of our *Historian* (viz.) *Primus apud Græcos desciit mirari Diodorus*, yet it was always favourably interpreted, to extend to his whole composition, and it is a kind of injustice to affirm, as *Vives* did, that there is nothing more vain, nor less solid, than his History. As for the Egyptian Ephemerides, and the Astronomical calculations, of the *Chaldeans*, they are inserted, onely to shew what was the common belief of those people, not arguing, that he gave any credit to them. He is so far from it, that he saies expresly, in his

Second Book, that he cannot possibly acquiesce to what the *College of Chaldeans* had determined, of the long space of time, which preceded the Victories of *Alexander*. I am so far from condemning the Fables, and excellent Mythology, in the *Five first Books of Diodorus*, that in my opinion, we have nothing more pretious, in all that remains of Antiquity: for besides that Fables may be told seriously, and that *Plato's Timeus*, with several other works of very great consideration, should be rejected, if they were absolutely unnecessary, it is to be said of these, that they teach us, the whole Theology of the Idolaters. And if it were lawful, to give a Holy name, to a profane thing, I might call the *Five* forementioned *Books*, the *Bible of Paganism*, since they teach us at the first sight, what the *Gentiles* believed of Eternity, and the Creation of the World: and the birth of the first men, is therein afterwards described, according to the pure Light of Nature; So that they represent to us so well, all the Theogony of the Egyptians, whence that of the Greeks drew its Original, that without *Diodorus*, we should be ignorant, of what is most curious, in that sort of knowledge. Nevertheless he is not the first Infidel, that began his History, with the Original of all things, as well as *Moses*, with the Creation of the World. For he himself teaches us, in the *fifth Book*, of his *Bibliotheca*, that, *Anaximenes* of *Lampsacum*, had not writ the first of any (as some have

The name, or inscription of his History.

have ill tranſlated it) but the firſt Hiſtory of Greece; becauſe he took it from the birth of the Gods, and the infamy of Mankind (to ſpeak like him) continuing it to the famous battel of *Mantinea*, and the glorious death of *Epaminondas*: however ſince our evil deſtiny would not permit the others labours to come to us; I believe we cannot, at this day, have too great an eſteem for thoſe of *Diodorus*, which it hath not envied us, nor too much retort the injurious cenſure of *Vives*, and ſuch like.

But in this we do no more, than follow, the opinion of moſt men of letters, not onely *Ethnicks*, but even *Chriſtians* alſo. *Juſtin Martyr* calls *Diodorus*, in ſeveral places, the moſt renowned, and eſteemed, of all the Greek Hiſtorians: and proves by his writings, the excellence and Antiqnity, of the *Great Law giver* of the *Hebrews*, and when he would inſinuate, that *Homer* had learned, in *Egypt*, the moſt refined things, he put into his Poeſy, he uſes for it the Authority of *Diodorus*, whom he does not name without praiſe. And *Euſebius* goes beyond *Juſtin Martyr*, both in Titles of Honour, and in citations of paſſages, drawn from our *Hiſtorian*, with which he fills, all the books of his *Evangelical preparation*. And when he treats, of the beginning of the world, and of what the Ancients believed, of the Sun, and Moon, and of the cuſtome, which the *Carthaginians* had, to Sacrifice men, and of infinite other Subjects, which fall

Paran. ad Gr.

into

into his principal design, he alwaies alledges *Diodorus*, but he does it chiefly, when he examins the Theology of the *Ægyptians*, in his *Second Book*, where he very much extols the fame of him: he calls him a most illustrious Writer, most exact in his Narrations, and one esteem'd by all learned men for his profound doctrine, and he adds, that there is no Grecian, who is not desirous to read him, by a common approbation, and preference to the rest of their Authors. But when he insists in his *Tenth Book* of the same work, that Greece had received, from the hands of those it esteemed barbarous, and particularly from the Jews, all the Sciences and learning, for which it had so great a value; it is in that he attributes the greatest Honour to him. For after having used the Testimonies of St *Clement*, *Porphyrius*, *Plato*, *Democritus*, *Heraclitus*, *Josephus*, and such like Authors, of the first Classe, he finishes his proof with a Quotation, out of the first Book of that incomparable History: *to the end* (*saies he*) *that the Authority of* Diodorus, *may be as a Seal, to all my demonstration.* To say the truth, he has a marvellous advantage given him by *Eusebius*, to be cited, and put expressly after the rest, to shew how much he is esteemed by him: in the same manner, as Architects place that Stone last, which is called the Key of the Arch, and which conduces no less to the solidity, than the ornament of the whole Edifice.

This

This is that, which I purposed to add to the suffrages of *Pliny*, and *Photius*, in favour of our *Historian*, for fear that the ill terms, which *Bodin*, and *Vives*, used against him, should be prejudicial to his fame. If I had reason to blame him, it should be much rather, for the great superstition, in which he abounds, in all his writings, as well as *Titus Livius*, amongst the *Latins*, than for his bad Greek, or for having handled his subject ill, whereof those indecent Criticks accuse him, there being no reason to diminish his reputation, in that regard.

REFLEC-

REFLECTIONS
UPON THE
HISTORY
OF
DIONYSIUS
HALICARNASSEUS.

IF *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* had not ſaid himſelf, in the beginning of his Hiſtory, that he lived in the *Emperor Auguſtus* his time (in whoſe Reign our *Saviour* was born) *Strabo* would teach it us, in the *Fourteenth Book* of his *Geography*, where ſpeaking of the City of *Halicarnaſſus*, he obſerves that it beſtowed on the world, Two great perſons, *Herodotus*, and in our time (ſaies he) *Dionyſius* the Hiſtoriographer. So that ſince *Strabo* witneſſes, in that ſame work, that he had it in hand, under *Auguſtus*, and *Tiberius*, we are certain, that *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* was alſo of the ſame *Age*, which is, as all know, one of thoſe, which moſt favored learning, and learned men.

Suidas

Suidas names among many Writers, who bore the name of *Dionyſius*, another beſides him, we ſpeak of, who was of *Halicarnaſſus* alſo, and of his Poſterity; and appeared, under the Emperor *Adrian*, with the Surname of *Muſicus*, becauſe though he was an Orator, his principal Talent lay in Muſick, of which he compoſed many Books; and among others, one wherein he interpreted all the places, of *Plato's Republick*, which could not be well underſtood, without a particular underſtanding of that Art. That which makes me ſay, that this other *Dionyſius* was deſcended from the firſt, is, that the ſame *Suidas* ſaies, that from *Dionyſius*, the *Hiſtorian*, came one *Dionyſius* (whom he calls) *Atticiſta*, who lived under *Adrian*, and had writ a Lexicon of the Attick words, as may be ſeen in the Hundred and Two and Fiftieth Section of *Photius*. For my part, I am eaſily perſwaded, that this *Atticiſt*, and *Muſician*, are but one, ſince they are both mentioned to be under one *Emperor*. As for our *Hiſtorian*, he came to *Rome*, a little after *Auguſtus* had happily finiſhed the Civil Wars, and ſojourned there Two and Twenty whole years, learning the Latine Tongue, and making his proviſion of neceſſaries to the deſign, he had of writing his Hiſtory.

He read to this end all Books, which are called Commentaries and Annals, made by thoſe Romans, who had writ with ſome reputation, about the concerns of their State, as old *Cato*, *Fabius*

Fabius Maximus, *Valerius Antias*, *Licinius Macer*, and some others. But acknowledges, that the conversation he had with the worthy men of that *Capital City* of the world, and his conferences with an infinite number of learned men there, were not less servicable to him, than all the other diligence he could use. His History was of the *Roman Antiquities*, which he comprised in Twenty Books, whereof there remains no more, than the first Eleven, to this Age, which conclude with the time, when the Consuls resumed the chief Authority in the Republick, after the government of the *Decemviri*, which happened, Three Hundred and Twelve years after the foundation of *Rome*. The whole work comprehended much more; for it passed from the taking of *Troy*, over the fabulous, and Historical time, to the beginning of the first *Punick War*; ending where *Polybius* begins his History, near Two Hundred years later, than what we even now mentioned.

Whereupon, it behoves us to observe the error of *Sigismond Gelenius*, who imagined that *Dionysius Halicarnassæus*, whom he has translated very well, never ended his work, and that death hindered him from composing above *Eleven Books* of the *Twenty*, he promised to give to the Publick. When *Stephanus*, a Greek Author, who writ of Cities, quotes the *Sixteenth* and *Twentieth Book*, of the *Roman Antiquities*, of our *Dionysius*: and *Photius* saies, in his *Bibliotheca*, that he

he read all the *Twenty Books*, giving the *laſt* the ſame ending, which we aſſigned unto it.

Photius.

This learned *Patriarch* aſſures us alſo, that he ſaw the *compendium*, or *ſynopſis*, which *Dionyſius* made of his own Hiſtory, which he reduced into Five Books, with much Eloquence, but it was not agreeable to a Reader, becauſe of the ſtrict Retrenchment of all he thought not abſolutely neceſſary. The loſs of that Epitomy would be leſs ſenſible, if we had the firſt compoſition entire; which has received ſo much approbation, eſpecially in reſpect of the calculation of times, and what relates to Chronology, that all Criticks prefer, in this point, *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*, before *Titus Livius*. And *Scaliger* confeſſes, in his *Animadverſions* upon *Euſebius*, that we have no Author remaining, who has ſo well kept the order of years.

As for his Stile, *Photius* conſiders it, as extraordinary and new, but accompanied with a ſimplicity, which renders it delightful: and he adds, that the Elegancy of his diſcourſe or phraſe corrects and ſoftens all the roughneſs which is ſometimes found in his ſpeech. He commends him alſo very much, for having underſtood how to uſe many digreſſions, which retain, and recreate the mind of the Reader, when the evenneſs of an Hiſtorical narration, begins to be tedious and weariſom to him.

And certainly it is not to be imagined, that a man of that reputation, which *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*

carnaſſeus had acquired in learning, could produce any thing, which was not very polite, and worthy of his name. We have his *compoſitions of Rhetorick*; and the moſt ſubtle Criticks place him, in the firſt rank of thoſe who delighted in that ſort of ſtudy: and though there were no more to be ſaid of him, than the requeſt that was made him, by *Pompey the Great*, to give him his judgment, on the firſt Greek Hiſtorians, and eſpecially on *Herodotus*, and *Xenophon*; it ſhews ſufficiently the eſteem, wherein he lived in his time, and of what Authority he was in *Rome*, among the learned; when *Pompey* choſe him, out of ſo many others, to inform him therein.

If there be any thing which may be found fault with, either in that letter, which he addreſſes to *Ammæa*, and *Tubero*, or in others upon the ſame matter, it is that he was too exact, and rigorous therein, giving Laws to Eloqueuce, ſo full of ſeverity, that they take from it, one of the beſt parts, which is the generous liberty, whereof it has alwaies made profeſſion. In effect he often ſtraightens that noble Art ſo much, that he deprives it, almoſt of all its reality, and reduces it to a ſimple *Idea*, without hopes that it can be practiſed by any one, for the future: ſo that one may ſay, according to the ſtrictneſs of his Maxims, there was never any perfect Hiſtorian, nor true Orator. If one ſtudies his precepts of *Rhetorick*, upon all the ſorts of Oration, his characters

racters of the Ancients, wherein he ſhews what one ought to imitate in them, and what to avoid; with his other Treatiſe, made to inſtruct us how to examin their Writings; the truth of what I have ſaid will appear, and the Spleen of this Critick will be diſcovered, who found fault with the Stile of *Plato*. This was one of the occaſions of a letter, which *Pompey* taking *Plato's* parr, writ to him. And we ſee by *Dionyſius* his anſwer, that although to content *Pompey*, he profeſſes himſelf, an admirer of *Plato*, he forbears not to prefer *Demoſthenes* to him, proteſting, that it was onely to give the whole advantage to the latter, that he exerciſed his cenſure, againſt the former. Nevertheleſs it appears, that at another ſeaſon he ſpared his *Demoſthenes*, no more than the reſt, ſo prone was his inclination to carping: becauſe after he had conceived things in the higheſt perfection, he pretended to find nothing, which was not far beneath them, and which did not conſequently diſpleaſe him.

But ſince it is not our intention to conſider him here, ſo much an Orator, as an Hiſtorian, Let us be content to make ſome obſervations, on his *Roman Antiquities*, to be acquainted with his judgment, concerning the principal matters of Hiſtory.

We have already ſeen, that he was no Enemy to digreſſions, when we ſaid, that *Photius* drew one of the greateſt cauſes to praiſe him, from his making ſuch good uſe of them. And

that

that which he makes, in his Seventh Book, to deſcribe the whole courſe of the Tyranny; of *Ariſtodemus*, ſurnamed *Mollis*, ſhews that he thought them, one of the Ornaments of Hiſtory. The long Orations of *Tullus Hoſtilius*, and *Metius Suffetius* in the *Third Book*, with others of *Servius Tullius* which are in the *Fourth*, make it alſo appear ſufficiently, that he did not condemn, as ſome have done, all ſort of direct Orations; though he has elſewhere blamed the bad ones. He is not content, in his *Fifth Book*, to praiſe *P. Valerius Publicola*, but takes occaſion thereupon, to preſcribe it to Hiſtorians, not to repreſent, the brave and glorious actions of illuſtrious men, in their Hiſtories, without making their particular and Domeſtick virtues appear, accompanied with their merited praiſes: which is directly contrary to the opinion of thoſe, who would have them refrain, from all things that may excite the paſſions, leaſt they thereby invade the Province of an Orator. In the ſame *Book*, on the Subject, of the Conſpiracy of the *Tarquins*, detected, and ſeverely puniſhed, by the *Conſul Sulpitius*, he delivers another important precept, to thoſe who write Hiſtory, not to ſet down barely, in their narratives, the iſſue of things, but to repreſent them alwaies, jointly with their cauſes, and the means which were uſed to make them ſucceed, not forgetting the leaſt circumſtances; nay to penetrate, if it be poſſible, into the Counſels of the firſt Authors,

and

and thoſe who had the greateſt ſhare in the execution. But though *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* reproved *Theopompus*, for having emploied ſome compariſons to no purpoſe, he does not judge them to be all faulty, for he makes uſe of them ſometimes, and of thoſe Parallels, or affinities of actions, which many cannot endure. Thus, on the Subject of *Tarquin*, who to anſwer the Servant of his Son, beat down in his preſence, the heads of thoſe Poppies, which were higher than the reſt: he remarks, that *Thraſybulus* had practiſed the ſame thing, towards *Periander*, pulling up, before his Meſſenger, thoſe Ears of Corn, which overtopped the reſt. And treating of the creation, and abſolute power of the Roman Dictators, he obſerves, that this Magiſtracy was probably inſtituted, in imitation of the Greeks: becauſe the Inhabitants of *Mitylene*, now called *Metelin*, had formerly raiſed *Pittacus*, one of the *Seven Sages*, to a like dignity (which they limited to a certain time onely) in an expedition, againſt ſome perſons, baniſhed from their State, who were companions to the Poet *Alcæus*. *Lib. 4.* *Lib. 5.* *urbs maxima Lesbi, juxta Methymnum.*

As theſe opinions, which we have examined elſewhere, more amply than here, ſeem to me very receivable; ſo we muſt, on the contrary, take heed of many improbable Tales, which he relates ſometimes with too much aſſurance. He makes a Raſor cut a Whetſtone in two of them, by the command of the Augur, *Navius Actius*, and repreſents *Caſtor*, and *Pollux*, fighting for *Lib. 3.*

Lib. 6. the *Romans*, against the *Latins*; and the *Rivers*,
Lib. 7. *Vulturnus*, and *Glanis*, to remount to their Source,
Lib. 8. in favour of the Inhabitants of *Cumæ*. And relates, that a Statue, of the *Goddess Fortune*, pronounces twice these words, *vitè me Matrona dedicastis*, according to the words of the Annals, which he thought himself obliged to rehearse: and
Lib. 5. he would have had reason for it, if he had left us some hint, not to believe it; as he might have done perhaps, if it would have been permitted. But there is not a worse Relation, in the Roman History, than the action of *Cloelia*, as he represents it. He reports, that this *Roman Virgin*, who was given in hostage, with many others, to *Porsena*, King of the *Hetrusians*, returned with all her companions, from the *Tuscan* Camp, into the City of *Rome*, swimming over the *River Tiber*, wherein they had ask'd leave to bath themselves; as if it were possible, that fearful Women, and who had not learned to Swim, durst but look upon such a River, with design to pass it, and cast themselves desperately into it, without any necessity, the peace being almost then concluded. For though *Plutarch* describes the place, in the life of *Publicola*, so very agreeable, and convenient to bath in, yet he acknowledges, that the River was very Rapid, and deep. I confess *Livy*
Dec. 1. *l.* 2. writes with no more likelyhood, when he tells the same story; and that Plutarch does no more than doubt, of that of *Cloelia*, who, as many reported, passed the *Tiber*, by her self, on Horse-

back,

back, thereby encouraging the reſt of her Companions, to Swim over it. Nevertheleſs I dare ſay, that the report of *Valerius Maximus*, has much more appearance of truth in it, than what the others related, though he was leſs obliged than they, to follow it ſtrictly, ſince he was not an Hiſtorian, and his Subject ingaged him onely, to enrich (and if we may ſay ſo) to illuſtrate, with fine colours, ſuch memorable actions. He writes that *Cloelia*, under the favour of a dark Night, eſcaped from the Enemies Camp, mounted on a Horſe, which bare her, to the other ſide of the *Tiber*, amongſt her friends: and the Statue *Equeſtris* which was raiſed to her, and which they all mention, would even force them to be of this opinion, if they had not rather choſe to follow the moſt popular rumour, and that which rendered their narration more agreeable, becauſe it ſeemed extraordinary, and marvellous; wherein, it is almoſt incredible, how much the greater part of Hiſtorians tranſgreſs.

I will not forget, for a Corollary, to what is above expreſſed, that by the conſent of all learned men, *Dionyſius Halicarneſſeus* unfolds the *Roman Antiquities*, not onely in reſpect of time, as before mentioned, but alſo in what relates to matter, much better, than any of the Latin Hiſtorians have done. For his being a ſtranger, was ſo far from being prejudicial to him, that upon that account, he made it his buſineſs, to obſerve an infinite number, of the moſt curious particulars, of

the Roman State, that are found in his Books, and which we do not learn, in their own Authors; either becauſe they neglected to write, that which was familiar to them, which they thought, all the World knew; as well as themſelves; or becauſe this Grecian was more careful, and diligent, than they, to ſeek after that, which might beſt conduce, to make all the circumſtances of their affairs, known to Poſterity. And it is a great glory to him, to have ſurpaſſed them all in things, wherein they ought to have had ſuch great advantage over him.

REFLEC-

REFLECTIONS
UPON THE
HISTORY
OF
JOSEPHUS.

A Certain Roman Conſul was derided heretofore, for writing a Hiſtory in Greek; who, to excuſe the impurity of his language, alledged in his Preface, that he was born in *Italy*, where nothing but Latin was ſpoken. Which *Cato* reading, ſcoffingly ſaid, 'That 'Author was very ridiculous, who choſe rather to 'ask pardon for a fault, than to avoid it, when 'nothing obliged him to do it; and the offence 'was not committed when he asked forgiveneſs. *Plutarch* relates this after another manner, and will have *Cato* pronounce, the Conſul moſt worthy of excuſe; if he could make it appear, that he was forced to write in Greek, by a Decree of the *Amphictyones*. This ingenious reflection which imports, that an excuſe is alwaies unreaſonable, when it is not neceſſary, cannot be ap-

Aulus Albinus.

Maluiſti culpam deprecari, quam culpâ vacare. A. Gell. l. 11. c. 8. in Cat.

plied to *Josephus*: because, though as a Jew, he was as great a stranger to the Greek Tongue, as the person before mentioned, he was compelled to make use of it, or the Latin, to be understood by the Grecians and Romans, for whom principally, in his Prologue to the Judaick War, he declares that he set Pen to Paper. Few are ignorant, that those Nations had no esteem, for the Hebrew Language, and it is evident, that when the Great Captain *Hannibal*, to recreate himself, had a mind to set down in writing, the actions of *Cn. Manlius Volso*, in *Asia*, he did it not, in the *Punick* or *Carthaginian* Tongue, which was a Dialect of the Hebrew, but in Greek (that he had learned of the Historian, *Sosilus* of *Lacedæmon*, his Master) that his work might be understood in the world. *Josephus*, who had the same design, found himself obliged to write in Greek, which was familiar enough to him, because he had been conversant in the greatest part of *Syria*. Moreover, had he been equally skill'd in these Two Tongues, he ought to have preferred, as he did, the Greek, which was then Mistriss of all Sciences, and so much valued at *Rome*, for that reason, that some Roman Citizens chose rather in their writings, to express themselves in Greek, than Latin. Such a one was *Ælianus*, who soon after *Josephus*, under the Emperors *Nerva*, *Trajanus*, and *Adrianus*, writ *de Animalibus*, *de varia Historia*, *de Re Militari* and some other Treatises. He was born in *Præneste*, and therefore reputed

Æmil. Prob. in Hann.

Urbs Latii, una excelebervimis, in Finibus Æquorum.

reputed a *Roman*, having compoſed his works in Greek, in ſuch rare expreſſions, that *Philoſtratus* affirmed (after he had placed him among his Sophiſters) that his Phraſe was no leſs Attick, than that which was ſpoken, by the moſt *Mediterranean, in the Attick Territory* (to uſe his own terms.) As for *Joſephus*, his Stile is very clear, if we may believe *Photius*; and with a great purity he joins, to the weight of his reaſons, the force and elegancy of Expreſſion: ſo that he is, as this Father relates, very dexterous, as well in moving paſſions, as in allaying them, when he judges it requiſite. Nor is it a ſmall honour to him, to be ſo ſucceſful in a foraign Tongue, as to have purchaſed ſuch high praiſe, as is attributed by the learned to him. But we muſt not forget that beſides his merit this way, *Euſebius* reports, that he expoſed his Books of the Jewiſh Wars, and Antiquities, in Hebrew, as well as in Greek, that they might be uſeful to more People.

Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 3. cap. 9.

His Extraction was very illuſtrious, as well on his Fathers ſide, who came from the *High Prieſts* of *Hieruſalem*, as on his Mothers, who was of the Royal Blood, of the *Aſamoneans* or *Machabees*. He came into the World, in the time of *Caligula*, about the Thirty Ninth year, of the Incarnation of *Chriſt*; and was in it, under *Domitian*, ſo that he lived, during the Reign of Nine Emperors at leaſt. When he was Six and Twenty years old, he made a voiage into *Italy*, in

in favour of some Ecclesiasticks of his Nation, whom *Felix*, Governor of *Judæa*, had sent Prisoners to *Rome*. A Jewish Comedian, beloved by *Nero*, supported him at Court, and brought him acquainted likewise, with the Empress *Poppæa Augusta*, from whom he received some benefit: so that having brought his business to a happy issue, he returned with content, into *Palestine*. The Factions, which were then in the *Holy Land*, made him be chosen Captain of the *Galileans*, a charge which he executed most worthily, until *Jotapata* was taken, where he was reduced to cast himself into a Wel, which had already served for a retreat, to Forty of his Souldiers, wherein he suffered marvellous extremities, but at last he became Prisoner to the Romans. In that time of his Captivity, he foretold to *Vespasian*, his exaltation to the Empire, and that he would soon deliver him from his bonds, as *Suetonius* reports, in the life of this Emperor, and as *Josephus* writes himself, in the Third Book, and Fourteenth Chapter, of the Jewish War. He shews also his deliverance, in the Fifth Book, and Twelfth Chapter, after that *Vespasian* had found the truth of his Predictions. What the profane Historians, such as *Tacitus*, and *Suetonius*, relate conformable to this, deserves our observation, for they affirm, that all the Provinces of the East, were then firmly possest with a belief, that they, to whom the Destinies, and Sacred Writs had promised the Empire of the World, should

Nemine Alituru. Vossius de Histor. Græcis l. 2. c. 8.

Cap. 5.

Lib. 5. hist. in Vesp. c. 4.

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at that time come from *Judea*. The Jews, and *Joſephus* amongſt the reſt, interpreted what regarded the true *Meſſias*, of *Veſpaſian* and his Son *Titus*, becauſe of the victories they had newly gained over them, and the unmeaſurable extent, of the Roman Empire. And it happened that after his deliverance from his impriſonment, he was Spectator of the taking of *Hieruſalem*, by the ſame *Titus*, and compoſed ſince as an Eie-witneſs, the Seven Books, of the *Judaick War* of which he made to him, and *Veſpaſian* who was then living, ſuch an agreeable preſent, that *Titus* cauſed them to be put into the Publick Library, ſubſcribed and approved of, by his own hand. *Joſephus* adds in his own Life, which he himſelf has given us in writing, that King *Agrippa* had teſtified unto him by many letters, that he held him for the trueſt Author, of all thoſe who enterpriſed to treat of the affairs of their country. Being return'd to *Rome* with *Veſpaſian*, he lived there under his protection and that of his Two Sons, gratified with their Penſions, and with the condition of a free Citizen of *Rome*, and many other benefits, which gave him means to finiſh peaceably under *Domitian* his Twenty Books of the Jewiſh Antiquities, from the Creation of the World, to the Twelfth year of the Empire of *Nero*.

Ab eo acceperit Epiſtolas ſeptuagintaduas &c. Voſ. loco citato.

He was an Egyptian born in Oaſis *a City of Ægypt, & Alexandrinus vocari gaudebat, Voſſius de ſcript græcis l. 2. c. 7.*

His Two Books againſt *Apion Pliſtonices* are made in favour of the Jews, whom this ſame *Apion* Surnamed alſo *Grammaticus*, had defamed as much

much as he could, in a work he publish'd, being sent Deputy to *Rome*, to the disadvantage of *Philo* and his Country-men. But the discourse of the Empire of *Reason*, or the Martydom of the *Machabees*, is the most eloquent of all the pieces writ by *Josephus*. As for the Treatise of his life, he composed it in imitation of many great Men, who had done the like thing before him, and have been imitated by many others. For passing by *Moses*, who alone, filled with the Spirit of God, writ not onely his Life, but Death; it is known, that a little before *Josephus*, the Emperors *Augustus*, *Tiberius*, and *Claudius*, were pleased to leave the platform of their lives to Posterity, traced with their own Pens: *Agrippina* Mother of *Nero*, did no less, as *Tacitus* reports. And private persons such as *Sylla*, *Varro*, *Rutilius Rufus*, *Æmilius Scaurus*, and *Nicolaus Damascenus*, had already practised that sort of writing. If we must mention others who exercised themselves therein, since *Josephus*, we shall name in the first place the Emperors *Adrianus*, *Marcus Antoninus*, and *Severus*; secondly, to draw nearer to these Times, *James King* of *Arragon*, *Maximilian* the first, the *Abbot Trithemius*, *Cardanus*, and *Augustus de Thou*, who have all written Books of their own Lives.

Ælyptii ep. inter Pelusium & Memphin.

But there is no small difference at this day, between learned Men, touching the credit *Josephus* his History ought to have amongst us. For if we refer our selves to *Maldonat*, *Melchior Canus*,

Canus, *Pererius*, *Salmeron*, *Baronius*, *Salian* and ſome others, we ſhould have no value for all his labour, which they defame as full of Anachroniſms in the Calculation of times, and Fables in the Narration of things. *Baronius* amongſt the reſt, rebukes him very ſeverely in his Preface which he calls *Apparatus*, &c. and in many other places of his *Annals*, nay he proceeds ſo far as to impute to him that he knew not juſtly his own Age, and that he was miſtaken in it by ſix whole years. But if on the other ſide we yeild to the judgment of his *Partiſans*, ſuch as *Scaliger* and *Calviſius*, of whoſe Party are *Juſtin Martyr*, *Euſebius*, *St. Hierome*, *Suidas*, and ſeveral other Ancients, we ſhall be obliged to place him in the rank of the beſt Hiſtorians which remain. And truly when I conſider with what recommendation *Juſtin* ſpoke of him, I am not eaſily induced to condemn him ſo abſolutely as many doe. He ſtiles him many times an exceeding wiſe Hiſtoriographer, and joyning him with *Philo*, he ſaies they are Two Perſons worthy of great reſpect. As for *Euſebius*, he remarks in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, that *Joſephus* was honoured with a Statue at *Rome*, which we have already obſerved, giving him the Title of a moſt true Author, and one that deſerves that credit ſhould be given to what he writes. The Books Stiled *an Evangelical preparation* of *Euſebius*, are full of paſſages of *Joſephus*; and in the Third of his *Evangelical Demonſtration*, he rehearſes

Ad. Ann. Chr. 58. Cap. 158.

Lib. 3. cap. 9.

rehearses that place of the Jewish Antiquities, which makes such express mention of *Jesus Christ*. As for St *Hierome*, after he had placed *Josephus* amongst the Ecclesiastical Writers, he confirms the favours he received from *Vespasian* and *Titus*, and the honour that was done him by putting his Books into the Publick Library, and raising a Statue to him in *Rome*. He quotes also his forementioned Testimony of *Jesus Christ*. And in one of his Epistles, he did not forbear to name him the *Grecian Livy*, which shews the great valew he had for his History. *Suidas* recites almost all the same things which he could see in *Justin*, *Eusebius*, and St *Hierome*, and he gives him particularly the Quality of a Lover of truth, which is much to be considered in his case. I wonder not therefore after these Testimonies, if many will take *Josephus* his part, against those who endeavoured utterly to discredit him. Nevertheless *Scaliger* was a little too forward, when he named him in a Preface to a Book intituled *the correction of Times*, in one place the most diligent, and greatest friend to truth of all Writers, *Diligentissimum*, τον φιλαληθεσατον *omnium Scriptorum*, out-doing in this manner *Suidas* by a Superlative Encomium, and in another place the most true and religious of all Authors, *Omnium Scriptorum veracissimum & religiosissimum*. He adds further that the integrity and learning of *Josephus* showing it self in every thing, he shall not be backward to assert boldly, that not onely

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in what relates to the Jewish affairs, but in all others also, it is more fit and sure for one to refer himself unto this Hebrew, than to all the rest of the Greek and Latin Authors. I would not proceed to so determinate a judgment; yet I think one may safely say that abating what may be contrary to the Sacred Texts of the Old and New Testament, *Josephus* is for the rest, an Historian of great Authority, and one that merits a great deference, especially in the things of his own time; wherof he writes as an Eie-witness: for we ought I think in charity to make that interpretation, of what so many Christians have often uttered in his Commendation.

Although that passage of *Josephus* concerning *Jesus Christ*, and the primitive times of Christianity was quoted, as we have already shown, in *Eusebius* his time, and since by Great men, it is suspected by many others, who think it foisted or thrust into the Text of *Josephus*, by one of those pious frauds, which they pretend to have been sometimes used in favour of Religion. *Baronius* who is not of their mind, saies, that place was found strook out in an Hebrew Manuscript of the Jews in *Rome*, which he delivers not for the proper language of *Josephus*, (as it might have been according to *Eusebius*) but onely for a translation from Greek into Hebrew. This justifies the Antiquity of the passage, and the animosity of the Jews against our belief, rather than it fully decides the Question, And though the

Ad ann. 34. *c.* 226.

Ad ann. 96. *cap.* 8

the same Cardinal endeavours to shew in another place, that which could humanly induce *Josephus* to give such a glorious Testimony of our Saviour, without a Divine impulsion, which possibly might force him to it: nevertheless he allows this passage as we have it now, to be incorrect, and that other to be more like truth as it was received in St *Hieromes* time, where *Josephus* does not affirm that *Jesus* was the expected *Christ*, *Christus hic erat*, but onely that he was believed to be so, *& credebatur esse Christus.* There is cause to wonder how it happened, that *Photius* never remembred so notable a passage in Three different Sections wherein he examins this Author. The chief thing is, that those Ages are past, in which the Authority of *Josephus* was so important to the establishment of the Church: yet they that will make use of it in this, either against the Jews, or otherwise, may well do it after so many Fathers, whose opinions it is alwaies allowed to follow.

Sect. 47. 76. *et* 238.

But we ought to take heed of the omissions of *Josephus*, which tend to the suppression of many Evangelical truths. For though he made no mention of the coming of the Wise men into *Judæa*, no more than the Massacre of the young Innocents, spoke of by St *Mathew*, it does not follow that we should doubt ever so little of that which we read of it in the History of the Gospel. Truly it is very strange that *Josephus*, who pardoned *Herod* nothing, who remembred well how

Cap. 2.

Lib. 1. *de bello Jud. cap.* 21.

how that Tyrant had burned or cut the Throats of a great number of young men, with their teachers, for having beat down the Roman Eagle from the Gate of the Temple of *Hieruſalem*, and who has ſo expreſsly ſhown us all the other crimes of the ſame man, namely in that Oration of the Jews, ſpoke at *Rome*, againſt his memory in the preſence of the Emperor; that this *Joſephus*, I ſay, ſhould not have ſaid the leaſt word of ſo cruel an action, ſo odious, and ſo noiſed abroad, as the murder of ſo many poor Infants, put to death by the command of *Herod*, muſt needs have been. But his forgetfulneſs, or Jewiſh malice, if he concealed it wittingly, cannot prejudice truth, nor be alledged againſt the Authority of our Sacred Texts, and that, of a Pagan alſo ſuch as *Macrobius*, which is expreſs for that, in the Second Book of his *Saturnals*, where he rehearſes *Auguſtus* his words, to this effect; *That it was better to be one of* Herods *Swine than his Child.* *Joſephus* moreover has writ many things in his Antiquities quite contrary to what *Moſes* has done, in which he cannot be followed without impiety. As for the reſt, it cannot be denied that he taught as many fine curioſities of the Hiſtory of his Country, which we ſhould be ignorant of without him, who has delivered them very well to us, though it has been obſerved that he did not alwaies agree with his Country-man *Philo* in his relations. *Ib. lib. 2. cap. 4.*

That which ought to recommend his Hiſtory very

very much unto us, is, that besides the advantage he had by his extraction, since knowledg and the Priesthood were in a strict union amongst the Jews, he was so well instructed in learning from his most tender years, that at the Age of Fourteen, as he writes, the chief Prelates and Principal men of *Hierusalem*, asked his Counsel in the greatest difficulties of the Law. At Sixteen years old he applied himself to the study of what was particular to each of the Three Sects, which were current in his Country, the *Pharisean*, the *Saducean*, and the other which was called the *Essenian*; whose professors were very Austere and solitary in their way of life. One of them called *Banus*, lived in the Desert; as the strictest *Hermits* of this time, his food was of Fruit and Herbs, covering himself with nothing but leaves, or barks of Trees, and washing his Body Night and Day in cold Water against the temptation of the flesh. *Josephus* passed Three years with this Anchorite, which ended, he betook himself again to a civil life, and made publick profession of following the *Pharisean* Sect, which he maintains to be very like unto the Stoick, that has been so much valued by the Greeks and Latins. It is certain that none but the Pharisees, made publick profession of Politicks, and partaked in the government of the State; so that if a *Saducee* was compelled to be a Magistrate, which he alwaies undertook very unwillingly, the People obliged him to yeild to

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the opinion of the Phariſees, and to be guided by their Maximes; as may be ſeen in *Joſephus*, where he treats of theſe Three forementioned Sects, and of a Fourth which was a refinement of the *Phariſean*. Thus according to the Principals of his Sect, he accepted the chief employments amongſt the Jews either in Peace or War, which gives a marvellous Authority to his Hiſtory; as being ordinarily compoſed of things which he ſaw himſelf, and actions wherein he had often the greateſt ſhare. *Lib.* 18. *Antiq. Jud. c.* 2.

We muſt take heed of confounding as *Munſter* has done the falſe *Joſephus*, commonly called *Joſippus Gorionides* (who alſo made, or rather falſified, a Hiſtory of the Jewiſh War) with our Hiſtorian. When this *Pſeudo-Joſephus*, in his Third Book placed *Goths* in *Spain*, and in his Fifth made *Gallia* to be poſſeſſed by the *French*; he ſufficiently declared his impertinence, to have aſpired thereby to paſs for the true *Joſephus*, in whoſe time there were neither *Goths* in *Spain*, nor *French* in *Gallia*. It is filled throughout with the like repugnancies, which are ſo plain that nothing but the credulity of the Jews of theſe laſt Ages can endure it, whoſe ingenuity alone conſiſts in cheating themſelves. *Scaliger* takes this man for a Circumciſed *French* man, who is not a very ancient Author, or at leaſt has writ ſince the Sixth Age of our Salvation. But the

Invective, which I have already used in the Chapter of *Xenophon*, against such Impostours, deters me from declaiming any more against them.

REFLEC

REFLECTIONS
UPON THE
HISTORY
OF
ARRIAN.

IN the time of *Adrian* the Emperor, and his two ſucceſſors, *Antoninus Pius*, and *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus*, *Arrian* the *Macedonian*, began to write his Hiſtory: he lived in the Hundred and Thirtieth year of *Chriſt*: he was a Diſciple of *Epictetus*. It is not eaſie to know, whether his Hiſtory was writ, before his *Enchiridion*, and thoſe other diſcourſes of his Maſter, which *Simplicius*, in his Commentaries, aſſures us to be compoſed by him, for though it might not be thought, according to the ordinary, and natural courſe of mens diſpoſitions, he ſhould apply himſelf to Philoſophical contemplations, in the Youthful part of his life, yet it appears, in the Preface of thoſe diſcourſes, that he writ them, as they were ſpoken by *Epictetus*, collected from his mouth, whilſt he was yet the Scholar,

lar, of that great Philoſopher, and he complains, that they were publiſhed without his privitie, which is a certain evidence, of their being writ in his younger Age. *Photius* ſaith, they were formerly in Twelve Books, beſides certain Philoſophical diſſertations, by him mentioned, which are loſt to this Age.

As for his Hiſtorical Compoſitions, though we have not them all intire; by what remains of them, we may diſcern enough, to oblige us to value his merit. And his Seven Books, of the Conqueſt of *Alexander* the Great, and Eight, which treat particularly of *India*, may ſuffice to give him a Rank, amongſt the chiefeſt Hiſtorians.

I ſhall not inſiſt on the deſcription, which he hath made of the *Euxin* Sea, and the Countries which border on it, nor on that of the *Erythrean* Sea, which comprehends part of the *Indian* Coaſts, the *Perſian Gulf*, and the Red Sea, becauſe they are rather peices, of Geography, than Hiſtory. *Rhamuſius* obſerves, that many would diſtinguiſh this *Arrian*, who, in his Eighth Book, deſcribes the Voyage of *Nearchus*, Admiral to *Alexander*, from the River *Indus*, to the *Perſian Gulf*; from him, who is the Author, of *Periplus*, or the deſcription of the *Erythrean* Ocean. The difference of Stile (whereon, thoſe that debate this matter, eſtabliſh their opinion) is but a ſlender foundation, for all agree (if it muſt be) that there were Two *Arrians*, that they both lived,

in the time of the *Antonines*, and that Prince of Geographers, *Claudius Ptolemæus Alexandrinus*. But that, which the ſame *Rhamuſius* notes on this occaſion, is very conſiderable. That though *Arrian* hath often followed, the opinion of *Marinus Tyrius*, whom *Ptolemy* does alwaies reject, yet it appears, that his is a better, and more juſt ſituation, of many parts of the Eaſt-Indies, than that, which *Ptolemy* has left us; as is manifeſt by many Modern Relations, exhibited thereof, by the *Portugueſe*. It is certain, that *Arrian's* merit recommended him ſo much, to the Emperors of his time, that they advanced him, to the Conſular dignity.

He was a Native of *Nicomedia*, a City of *Bithynia*, where he made his Studies, and became a Prieſt, of *Ceres*, and *Proſerpine*, as he himſelf reports, in thoſe Eight Books, of his *Bithynicks*, mentioned by *Photius*, which began the Hiſtory of his Country, at the fabulous times, and continued it, to the death of the laſt Monarch of *Nicomedia*, who left the *Romans*, to be the Heirs of his Crown. He pretends to have writ this Hiſtory of *Alexander* the Great, by Divine inſpiration; and that he did it, under the Title of Ἀναβάσεως Ἀλεξάνδρου; and with the like number of Seven Books, as *Xenophon* choſe, to deſcribe the Conqueſts of *Cyrus*: and ſome obſerve, that he ſo affected to follow that Author, that he hath perfectly imitated him in his Stile, and many other reſpects, and is therefore called, the Young, or

the Second *Xenophon*. He declares in his Preface, that his Relations are by him delivered, on the faith of *Ariſtobulus*, the Son of *Ariſtobulus*, and *Ptolemaus Lagus*, who accompanied *Alexander* in all his Enterpriſes, which were the more credible for that, beſides the Royal Quality of the latter, they did neither of them publiſh their writings, till after the death of *Alexander*, without any other obligation, than a real deſire of diſcovering the truth of his Actions. And yet our *Author* profeſſes, in his deſcription of the death of *Calliſthenes* the Philoſopher, that it was diverſly reported by them, though they were both near the perſon of *Alexander*, when the proceſs was made againſt that unfortunate perſon. *Ariſtobulus* ſaies, he was led in Chains after the Army, till he died of a Sickneſs, and the other affirms, that, after having been expoſed to Torture, he was Stangled, for having been unhappily involved in the conſpiracy of *Hermolaus*; ſo difficult it is, to know the truth of actions performed: and there is nothing more certain, than that one and the ſame action is many times variouſly related by thoſe that ſaw it, becauſe of the divers reſpects, and intereſts, wherewith moſt men are preoccupied. But notwithſtanding theſe particular defects, which *Arrian* could not redreſs; his Hiſtory is the more eſteemable, becauſe thoſe of *Ariſtobulus*, and *Ptolomy*, are not to be found, moreover there are many places, in the Hiſtory of *Quintus Curtius*, which have need

to

to be reformed, by the Text of *Arrian*; for when he writes, in his Sixth Book, that *Alexander* parted from the *Batavians*, doubtleſs it ought to be, from the City of *Ecbatana*, as it is expreſſed in *Arrian*. And the voiages to the East-Indies, made theſe laſt Hundred and Fifty years, ſhew, that he has better repreſented, the Houſes or Cabbins, of certain *Ichthyophages*, built of the bones of Whales, and other Fiſhes, than *Quintus Curtius*, who ſaies, they are made of Shells, and the excrements of the Sea, *conchas, & purgamenta Maris*. But there are ſome places alſo in *Arrians* Hiſtory, which the other doth very well explain, and I ſhall not determine, which of them has been moſt lucky, in expreſſing the name of *Alexanders* Phiſitian, whom *Arrian* calls, *Critodemus*: and *Quintus Curtius*, *Critobulus* (for *Plutarch* makes no mention of either) and *Pliny*, when he commends the excellency of that Phiſitian, who drew the Arrow out of *Alexanders* Fathers eie, without disfiguring his Face, nameing him *Critobulus*, makes it to be reaſonably ſuppoſed, that his Son made uſe of the ſame Phiſitian, and conſequently that *Curtius* did not miſtake in the name.

Batanes *in the French Original. Chief City in* Media *now called* Yerack. *Moreri dictionar.*

Photius commends *Arrian*, as equal to the beſt Hiſtorians, his narration is alwajes agreeable, becauſe it is both ſhort, and intelligible: and he never diſcompoſes his Readers, with tedious digreſſions, and ſuch Parentheſes, as may obſcure the ſenſe of his ſentences. And one cannot eaſily find,

find, in all his History, any one such Miraculous event, as might render it suspected, if you will except some predictions of *Aristander*, and the story of Two new Springs, which appeared near the River of *Oxus*, as soon as *Alexander* was there Encamped.

The pattern, which *Arrian* proposed to imimitate, permits him not to elevate his Stile, to a Sublime degree of Oratory; because the Eloquence of *Xenophon* is not of that order, but his Phrase is mingled with such excellent figures, that by retaining all the clearness, of him that he imitates, his Stile has nothing in it, either too flatly low, or too highly Towering. He occasionally uses, someties oblique Orations, and sometimes direct ones. And all along, in his Second Book, he Artificially couches the imperious letter of *Alexander* to *Darius*. The Oration of *Callisthenes*, against *Anaxarchus*, who would have *Alexander* to be adored, is one of the most considerable, of those that are direct. And there are Two others, not inferiour to it, of the same Prince to his Souldiers, which began to mutiny, once in the *Indies*, and the other time on the Banks of the River *Tygris*. Those which were made, before the Battel, given at the Streights of *Amanus*, and at the Plain of *Arbela*, or *Gaugamela*, are oblique, and much more concise, than the occasion required. *Photius* makes a very favourable judgment of the History of *Arrian* (*viz.*) that whosoever shall compare it, with the most Ancient of those, which

which are so much esteemed, it will be found, that there are many things in them, which in no wise approach the valew of the other.

But yet there is one passage, in the middle of his first Book, wherein there is Vanity enough, to stain the whole body of his History, if decency did not oblige us, to consider it with that indulgence, which the best of us may sometimes need, in respect to our own productions; the place I mean, is, where he declares, that the greatness, and number, of the famous Atchievements of *Alexander*, made him enterprise the writing of his History, by the assurance he had, of being able to acquit himself well therein: and that without putting his name to it, or mentioning his extraction, or Quality, he would have the world to know, he might valew himself in all those respects: and that having loved letters from his Infancy, as *Alexander* has merited the chiefest Rank, amongst the Leaders of Armies; so the greatest, amongst those that have enterprised the writing of History, cannot without injustice be denied to him. This impudence of *Arrian* puts me in mind, of the impertinence of another Grecian, that was contemporary with him, of whom *Photius* writes, that he dedicated his composition, to the Emperor, *Marcus Antoninus*, to get thereby the more credit to it, and that it might obtain a more favourable reception: and at his first entrance, preparatory to the matter, he pretended, that his Stile should be as Sublime, *Sect.* 132.

Sublime, as the actions of *Alexander*, which was the ſubject of his Book, when, alas! Nothing was ever lower, and more barren, than his Narrations, not more weak and faint, than the expreſſions wherein he expoſed them. It may be reaſonably believed, that the Ambition of this pretender equalled in the beginning the vanity of *Arrian*; but his weak performances made all his promiſes ridiculous in the end, whereas the other hath given, to Poſterity, one of the beſt Hiſtories that Antiquity hath left us; yet he ought not to paſs without a cenſure, for the fault he committed, there being ſcarce any thing in the world more inſupportable than ſelf praiſe; which, inſtead of the eſteem and reputation that our merit might juſtly challenge for any worthy enterpriſe, draws on us nothing but contempt, and hatred.

Beſides the Seven Books, before mentioned, of the expeditions of *Alexander* the Great, and the Eighth, of ſo much of the *Eaſt-Indies*, as was known in his time: He writ, in Ten Books, the Hiſtory of thoſe actions, which happened amongſt *Alexanders* Captains, after his death, for they could not agree about the dividing their Conqueſts; but of thoſe there remains nothing at this day, but an abridgment of them, which *Photius* gives us, in his *Bibliotheca*, and we have alſo loſt his *Bithynicks*; and Two other Treatiſes, One, of the moſt conſiderable actions, performed by *Timoleon* of *Corinth*, in *Sicily*, and the Other,

of

of the means used by *Dion* of *Syracuse*, to free the City so called, and all the circumjacent Country, from the Tyranny and oppression of *Dionysius*, the Second Tyrant of that name: nor has the misfortune of the Age been less, by the loss of another work of his, composed in Seventeen Books, which *Stephanus*, in his *Cities*, mentions more than once, whose Subject is, of the *Parthians*, and their descent from the *Scythians*, and their Wars with the *Romans*, in the time of the Emperour *Trajan*.

Photius informs us, that he writ another Treatise, called *the Alanick History*: so that many believe, that which *Dion Cassius* reports, of one *Arrian* Governour of *Cappadocia*, under the Emperour *Adrian*, who reduced the *Alanians*, and *Massagets*, to the obedience of the Empire, was meant of our Historian: it is he also, to whom *Plinius Novocomensis* addresses Seven of his Epistles, betwixt whom there was a friendship contracted, whilst the same *Pliny* was Proconsul of *Pontus*, and *Bithynia*, which our *Arrian* acknowledges to be the place of his Nativity. And if we may ascribe to him, those *Decisions of Law*, which *Ulpian*, and *Paulus* determin by his Authority: the knowledg of that learned Science may be added, to his excellency in Geography, History and Philosophy.

Vossius de hist. græcis, c. 11.

Lib. 43. dig. tit. 3. leg. 1. par. 4. et Lib. 44. digest. tit. 7. leg. 47. in Pseud.

But one of the greatest Encomiums that can be given to any, is that which *Lucian* applies to him, when he excuses himself for writing the life

life, of his falſe Prophet *Alexander*: Let no man, ſaies he, blame me, for imploying my time, on ſo inconſiderable a Subject, ſince *Arrian*, that worthy Diſciple of *Epictetus*, one of the greateſt among the Romans, who hath exerciſed himſelf among the *Muſes*, condeſcended to write the life of the *Villain Tiliborus*.

In Gordian.

It is not to be doubted but there are many *Arrians*, beſides this perſon of whom we now write, for *Julius Capitolinus*, quotes one *Arrian*, a Greek Hiſtorian, to prove that there were three of the name of *Gordianus*, againſt the opinion of thoſe, who pretend there were but Two; and this cannot be meant of our *Arrian*, who lived an Age, before the time of any of thoſe Emperors; and *Suetonius* mentions a Poet of that name, more Antient than any of the others, becauſe *Tiberius* is ſaid to have imitated him, in his Greek Poeſy. And perhaps, this may be the ſame *Arrian*, cited by *Suidas*, to be the Author of an Heroick Poem, divided into Four and Twenty Books, called *Alexandriades*, written to celebrate the Honour of *Alexander* the Great.

REFLEC-

REFLECTIONS UPON THE *HISTORY* OF APPIAN.

APPIAN is so much the more considerable, amongst all those that have laboured in the Roman History, in that, besides the commendation which *Photius* gives him, to have, as truly as possible, delivered his matter: He alone has particularly described their actions, according to the Provinces, and different Regions, wherein they were transacted: Not that he has, in this method, excelled all other Historiographers, for the most Ancient of them have alwaies followed the order of time, and related things annually done, in Countries very distant, one from the other.

But though *Appian* seems, in some things, to have affected an order, even contrary to Nature, not observed by any of the Ancients; yet it must be acknowledged, that his Method, in general, is

is very useful, to express the things performed distinctly, and separately from each other, to represent, as to our view, all that passed in each Country, so that no way of writing is more instructive, and apter, in that respect, to content the mind of the Readers. We learn from *Suidas*, that his History, by an excellency of Title, was sometimes termed *Basilick, or Royal.* And his Roman History (which he writ in Twenty Four Books, from *Æneas*, and the *Taking of Troy*, to the Foundation of Rome) contains, in the first thereof the Goverment of its Seven Kings, as may be conjectured by the Text of *Photius*. *Florus* his *Epitome* is indeed composed of Wars, and actions seperated one from the other; but *Appian* has represented them more entirely, how long soever any of them endured; whereas the *Other* confounds his relations, in the mixtures of them: as in the *First, Second*, and *Third Punick Wars*, he shuffles together all the affairs of the *Romans* with the *Gaules*, *Ligurians*, *Macedonians*, and many other People, with whom they had contest, in the interval of those Two cessations of Arms, which happened betwixt the *Carthaginians* and them.

Vossius de Historicis græcis. l. 2. c. 13.

But this favourable judgment of *Photius*, in *Appians* behalf, does not restrain *Bodin*, from accusing both his memory, and judgment in the matter of his History: for this bold Censurer asserts, that the Romans did never lend their Wives one to the other, according to the custome

Meth. hist. cap. 4.

ſtom of the *Parthians*, and *Lacedemonians*; and impures therein too much credulity to *Appian*: Though *Plutarch* hath written the ſame thing, affirming that *Cato* freely ſent his Wife, to *Hortenſius* the Oratour, to raiſe of her an iſſue to him: nor is the *Law of Romulus*, or that *againſt Adulterers*, mentioned by *Aulus Gellius*, repugnant to this practiſe (as *Bodin* unadviſedly imagins.) He taxes him likewiſe, to have made *Ceſar* ſay, in his *Second Book of the Civil Wars of Rome*, certain expreſſions, which were not uttered by him, but *Pompey*, in a threatning ſpeech, which he uſed to the Senate, when he put his hand on his Sword, and told them, if they would not grant him the things he deſired, that Sword ſhould purchaſe them: but this may be aſcribed to a failure of memory, to which all mankind is ſubject: as alſo another error, which he notes of him, in miſtaking *Calphurnia*, for *Pompeia*, that Wife of *Ceſar*, which was vitiated in the *Temple*, called by the Romans, the *Temple of the good Goddeſs*. But *Sigonius* is more indecent, who arraigns him of levity, and many omiſſions, without alledging any proof or inſtance thereof. And *Scaliger* is not leſs bold in the cenſure that he makes of him, in his *Animadverſions* on the Hiſtory of *Euſebius*, where he ſaies, he would appear to be a Child in the buſineſs of Hiſtory, were it not that an infinity of matters are added to his Treatiſe of the Wars of *Syria*. Yet though I approve not of theſe reflections; I preſume, *In vita Cat. V.*

ſume, one may truly impute it to him as a fault in all his works, that he too much flatters the Romans, alwaies making the right, as well as the advantage, to be on their ſide, to the prejudice of all other Nations in the world, with whom they were concerned, as well as of his own Native Country. And we may add to this, that he often attributes to himſelf the labours of others, tranſcribing many Paragraphs, and intire Sentences of *Polybius*, *Plutarch*, and other Authors more Antient, and inſerting them in his Book, without citing their Texts, to render them that acknowledgment, which is due to their merit, on ſuch occaſions. And ſome affirm that he in like manner tranſcribed, the greateſt part of the Commentaries of *Auguſtus*, which contained (as *Suetonius* relates) the principal actions of his life. This is indeed a ſort of theft not to be allowed; *Deprehendi in furto malle, quam mutuum reddere.* As *Pliny* ſaies to *Veſpatian*, on the ſame ſubject, and *Scaliger*, on this occaſion, calls him, *alienarum laborum fucum*, in reſemblance to a certain ſort of Flies, which nouriſh themſelves with the honey of others.

I have read in ſome Author, that the *Rhodians*, when they had a purpoſe to honour the memory of any well deſerving perſon, by having his Statue erected in ſome publick place, were uſed only to take the head from ſome of the old Statues in their City, and put a new one in the place of it, of the Figure of him they deſigned

to

to repreſent. Thoſe that ſteal from the writings of others, do the ſame thing as thoſe *Rhodians* did, but in a more ridiculous faſhion, for by putting their names to other mens Works, hoping thereby to acquire honour to themſelves, they ordinarily, inſtead thereof, reap only ſhame and contempt, for ſo ſordid a practiſe. This matter calls to my remembrance an abuſe, which was put upon *Diomedes*, by his friend *Alcibiades*, to whom he committed the charge, of conveying his Horſes to the *Olympick games*; for by changing the inſcription which belonged to them, and making them to run in the name of *Alcibiades*, he took to himſelf the honour of the victory they acquired, which was not of ſmall conſequence at that time, and to complaet his deceit, was ſo unjuſt to retain them to himſelf, without ever making reſtitution to *Diomedes*, who truſted him therewith. What greater treachery can there be in reſpect to letters, than to aſcribe to our ſelves, the productions of others, when inſtead of yeilding the glory to thoſe, by whoſe thoughts we have profited, we would have thoſe very conceptions paſs, for the pure inventions of our own wit. The figurative expreſſion of *Plagiary*, which the Latins give to thoſe, that are guilty of a Crime ſo abject, and odious, ſufficiently denotes the Abomination they had for it; as if, by the word *Plagium*, it were to be underſtood, that ſuch offences could not be expiated, but by a Whip. *Vitruvius*, in the *Preface*

Crimen Plagium à Plagis (1) *à dolore quo is afficitur qui ſurripuit.* Cal.

to his Seventh Book of Architecture, after having asserted, that such of whom we now treat, are to be punished, as impious, and infamous, *he* informs us, with what severity, and Ignominy, *Ptolomy* punished some Poets, that had been so impudent to recite, in a publick Assembly in *Alexandria*, certain Verses stoln by them, out of different Authors, and to expose them as their own; whereby they had carried the prize, (which the *King* proposed to be given them that best performed, by the suffrage of *Six* of the *Judges*, and all the *People*) if the *Seventh*, who was called *Aristophanes*, that had been more conversant in Books, than the other, had not discovered the abuse; preferring a *Poet*, before them, that was the least applauded of all the rest, but one that had pronounced nothing, in the Assembly, that was not of his own composition. *Theocritus* boasted, in one of his *Epigrams*, with a kind of assurance, that he never was of the number of those, that ascribed to themselves the Verses of other men, but I am not ignorant of the excuses, that many are forced to make in his behalf, for that very assertion. They tell us, that *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and Eusebius *in his Evangelical preparation*, report, that the Greeks did not only take from the Hebrews, that which is best in their Writings, but instanced in many examples, how they frequently borrowed from one another also.

Lib. 5. et 6 Strom. Lib. 9. Cap. 2. & 3.

Strabo writes of *Eudorus*, and *Ariston*, *Two Peripatetick Philosophers*, which had writ some

Geogr. Lib. 17.

Commen-

Commentaries of Nilus, so like in Phrase, and matter, that the *Oracle of Jupiter Hammon* only could discover; which of them was the true *Author*, upon their mutual accusations of one another, of the theft committed.

Marcianus Heracleota affirms, that *Eratosthenes* transcribed a Treatise, writ by one *Timosthenes*, of an Epitome of the Isles, from one end to the other, and published it as his own. *Athenæus* defames *Plato*, about the end of the *Eleventh Book of his Deipnosophists*, to have taken the greatest part of his Dialogues, from *Byrson*, *Aristippus*, and *Antisthenes*. And though it be known, that *Apuleius* his *Golden Ass*, is not of his own Fabrick, it is not yet discovered, whether he took it from *Lucian*, or *Lucius Patrensis*, for both these have writ of the same Subject, and each of their peices pass as Originals. But all these examples, and many more that might be instanced, cannot produce the effect, which those that make them, promise to themselves; nor is it enough to excuse a fault, by saying many others are guilty of the like, for if that were sufficient, there is scarce any that would not be easily pardonable.

Appian lived in the time of *Trajan*, *Adrian*, and *Antoninus* Successive Emperors of Rome, and about the 140th year, of our Saviours Incarnation. In the Preface of his History, he declares his Extraction, to be from one of the best Families of *Alexandria*, from whence being

come to *Rome*, he rendred himself, in a short while, so considerable in the imployment of Advocate, that he was elected, and inrolled in the number of those, that were the Proctors of the Emperor, and to have (as *Photius* relates) the Administration of a Province. *Sigonius*, and some others call him, *Sophista Alexandrinus*, and make him an *Egyptian*.

Procuratores Cæsaris, an Office which resembles the charge of Attorny General in England.

His History was divided into Three Volumes (which as the same *Photius* mentions) contained Four and Twenty Books, or Twenty Two, as *Carolus Stephanus Volaterranus*, and the before named *Sigonius* inform.* It began at the burning or taking *Troy*, and the fortune of *Æneas*, and extended beyond the Reign of *Augustus*, making sometimes excursions even to the time of *Trajan*. As to his Stile, the same *Photius* observes, that as his manner of writing was plain and easie, so he had nothing in it, that was soaring high, or superfluous, and he gives to him the prerogative, of being not only very faithful (as we hinted in the beginning) but one of those, that has given the greatest Testimony, of his knowledg in the art of War, and all kind of military Discipline. To read the description of his battels would make one fancy himself in the middle of them. And he is so happy in his *Orations*, that he manages, and moves the affections, which way he pleases: whether it be to revive the courage of the drooping Souldiers, or express the extravagant transports of those that are too violent.

* *Orsus ab Ænea, et Ilio capto, percurrit illa tempora, usq; ad Romulum. Inde accuratius persequitur omnia usque ad Augustum. Quædam etiam carptim atq; obiter addit, usque ad Trajanum. Vossius loco citato.*

But

But of the many *works* which he compoſed, there remains to this time but the leaſt part which deſcribe the *Punick*, *Syrian*, and *Parthian Wars*; *Thoſe againſt Mithridates*, *againſt the Spaniards*, *againſt Hannibal*: and *Five Books of the civil Wars of Rome*, and *thoſe of Illyria*: As for that of the *Celtick War*, or the *War* of the *Gaules*, there is only a fragment or compendium of it extant, rather to make us regret what we want, than ſatisfie our minds with that which remains.

Thus far we have confined our ſelf, in this Chapter of *Appian*, to *Monſieur de la Mothe le Vayer*, our Author, who in many things ſeems to me, not ſo exact in his judgment of this Hiſtoriographer, as his merit requires, and too ſevere in his reflection, whilſt he makes ſo long a defamatory digreſſion, againſt thoſe that incorporate the writings of others in their works, on occaſion of the mention of his borrowing ſomething, in his Hiſtory, from *Polybius* and *Plutarch*, which he makes to be the more unpardonable, becauſe he cites not, in his Books, the Texts of thoſe Authors, to render them (as he Phraſes it) the acknowledgment due to their merit. And yet he himſelf, even in this Chapter, borrows ſome part of his matter from *Voſſius*, without quoting him. But may it not be doubted, whither this *Gentleman* ever ſaw the *Original Manuſcript of Appian*, where perhaps thoſe Quotations were, to know thereby, whether he or thoſe that tranſcribed it, are to be blamed for

this omission, or indeed whether, in those Ancient times, such citations were practised: for though the borrowing of writings from others, may be sometimes in some circumstances a great offence; it is not alwaies to be so accounted, since there is not any thing written, that is not taken from the conceptions of them that went before: and when we take from others to improve their reason, that it may be derived to us in a more familiar, refined and exquisite sense, it is rather commendable than faulty; as may be said of that which *Virgil* takes from *Homer*, or to speak of our time, of what our *Ben Johnson* extracts from *Catullus*, *Juvenal*, *Horace*, *Plautus*, and other *Poets*, and from *Tully* also, who so much improves their thoughts, that they themselves, if they were alive, would not think themselves dishonored, by the use he makes of them.

What our Author mentions of *Scaliger*, which is also hinted by *Vossius*, of *Appian* being a Child in History, is rather to be imputed to his passion, than right judgment, whose censures are not alwaies to be allowed, especially when they contradict the more general consent of the learned in all Ages. What he saies also, in the beginning of this Chapter in one place, that *Appian* seems to have affected an order of writing, even contrary to Nature, is an opinion, wherein he is very singular, for *Caius Secundus Curio* (who had, it may be, more curiously studied *Appian* than he) in his *Epistle Dedicatory*, before the *Latin Im-*

pression

preſſion at *Baſil* 1554, writes thus of him.

It is certain (ſaies he) that *Appian* propoſed to himſelf, the method, and contexture of *Thucydides*, and *Saluſt*, and endeavoured to imitate them both, in their veracity of expreſſion, and quickneſs of tranſition, for he did not weave together a perpetual ſeries of Hiſtory, as *Livy* and others, but from the whole matter (that is to ſay) from the greateſt, moſt, and immortal actions of the Romans, he ſeparated the Wars they made, upon any Nation or People; and made ſo many bodies of hiſtory, as they undertook and waged Wars, which Reaſon and image of writing *Cæſar* purſued, in his ſo much celebrated Commentaries, wherein nothing is found, empty, fabulous, or prodigious. No ſuperfluous, or feigned ſpeeches, or Orations for oſtentation; but all pure, true, religious, and neceſſary; in which he did not imitate the Vanity of the Greeks, which to do, is not indeed to write a Hiſtory, but deceive the World with Fables.

Cælius Secundus Curio, in Epiſtolâ Dedicatoriâ, ad Bonifacium Amberbachium, verſus finem.

REFLEC-

REFLECTIONS UPON THE *HISTORY* OF DIO OR DION CASSIUS.

DIO Cassius, who is besides known by the Surnames of *Cocceius* and *Cocceianus*, was born at *Nicea*, a City of *Bithynia*, whether he retired, in his latter years, to pass in quiet the remaining part of his life, after the example of those Animals, who alwaies return, as they say, to dy in their Mansions. The infirmity of his leggs called him to this retirement, and he writes, that his Genius had foretold it him long before by a Verse of *Homers Iliads*, recited by *Photius*. As *Socrates* was said to have had a *Familiar Spirit or Daemon*, who was as a Director of his life, *Dio* alledges that he was warned by his, to avoid by a retirement, the Ambushes which the *Pretorian Militia* prepared for him: and

and the ſame *Spirit*, or *Goddeſs* (to uſe his own terms in his Threeſcore and Twelfth Book) made him write his Hiſtory, who before exerciſed himſelf only in Philoſophical learning, as that of the *Divine Dreams*, and their *Interpretation*, of which he had compoſed a Book. His Father *Apronianus* a *Conſular man* (according to the Phraſe of that Age) was Governor of *Dalmatia*, and ſometime after Proconſul of *Cilicia*: He himſelf had the ſame Conſular dignity beſtowed on him twice, which he exerciſed jointly with the Emperor *Alexander*, Son of *Mammea*; after he had paſſed through divers Imployments under the precedent Emperors: for *Macrinus* had eſtabliſhed him Lieutenant or Governor of *Pergamus*, and *Smyrna*, and he ſometime commanded in *Affrick*; and had afterwards the Adminiſtration of *Auſtria* and *Hungary*, then called *Pannonia*, committed to him. Theſe things are convenient to be known, before we ſpeak of his Writings, becauſe they recommend, and give the greater Authority to them. His Hiſtory compriſed all the time from the building of Rome, to the Reign of *Alexander Severus*, which he writ in Eighty Books, divided into Eight *Decades*, whereof few are ſaved from that unhappy loſs, which, as we have elſewhere ſhown, has been fatal to many admirable Works of this nature, whereof the ignorant and barbarous Ages have deprived us. At preſent the Five and Thirtieth Book is the firſt of thoſe that remain intire (for we

Homo Conſularis.

we have but some Eclogues or Fragments of the Four and Thirtieth preceding. His progress to the Sixtieth is intire enough. But instead of the last Twenty, we must be content with what *Xiphilinus*, a *Constantinopolitan Monk*, has given us in an Epitome or Compendium of them; for the Text of those peeces of *Dion* is not to be found whole, by a misfortune alwaies incident to Books, that are abbreviated. *Photius* observes, that he writ his *Roman History*, as some others had likewise done, not from the Foundation of Rome only, but even from *Æneas* his Descent into *Italy*, which he continued to the Tyranny of *Heliogabalus*, and some part of the Reign of *Alexander Severus*, his successor. That which we have of it now in our possession, comprehending the events of Three Hundred years at least, begins but at the time, when *Lucullus* had his great commands, and finishes with the death of *Claudius* the Emperor, the rest is the Epitome of *Xiphilinus*, before mentioned.

Lucullus lived about 71 years, before Christ, and about 33, before Julius Cæsar assumed the government of the Roman Empire.

Though all that has been lost of this excellent Author, is much to be regretted, I think nothing is so deplorable, as the loss of the Forty last years, of which he writ as an Eie-witness, and one that had a part in the government of the State. For he could not express, what was before the Empire of *Commodus*, but from the relation of strangers, and as others had done it before him. But after that Emperor, until the other, with whom he had the honor, to be Colle-

legue

legue in the Conſulſhip, he built no more upon the faith of other men; but what he relates, that deſcends to us, by his *Organ Xiphilinus*, is no other than what he ſaw himſelf, and wherein he was a principal Actour. It is a clear proof of *Dion*'s prudent conduct, that he could paſs over ſuch bad times, as thoſe of the Tyrannical Dominion of *Commodus*, *Caracalla*, *Macrinus*, and *Heliogabalus*, without loſs of life, goods, or reputation, which are often in danger under ſuch Princes, without a wonderful dexterity of Wit. His was ſo commendable, that after having overcome thoſe Stormy and Tempeſtuous ſeaſons, wherein the quality of a ſtranger and his riches expoſed him to much envy, he arrived happily at a ſafe Port, to wit the Raign of *Alexander Severus* an exceeding Lover of Juſtice, and a moſt powerful Protector of virtuous men.

Under him he publiſht the Roman Hiſtory, to which as he was led by his *Genius*, as we before hinted, ſo he was commanded by *Septimius Severus*. He confeſſes himſelf, that he imploied Ten years, in providing the neceſſary materials for this great building, and twelve more in raiſing it, and adding that Majeſty unto it, which makes us, even at this day, admire its diſmembred Fragments and Ruins. A man of his Quality, who had paſſed all his life in the management of affairs, and had read men as well as Books, and of ſuch an experimented conduct, muſt needs have been a very conſiderable Hiſtorio-

grapher.

grapher. Nor have any of them revealed ſo much unto us as he, of thoſe ſtate ſecrets, which *Tacitus* Stiles *Arcana Imperii*, and whereof he makes ſo high a Miſtery. He is ſo exact in deſcribing the order of the *Comitia*, the eſtabliſhing of Magiſtrates, and the uſe of the publick Rights of the *Romans*, that thoſe things are no where elſe learned more diſtinctly. And in what relates to the Conſecration of Emperors, their *Apotheoſis*, or inrolling amongſt the number of the Gods; We may ſay, that he is the only Writer, who has ſhewn us a good form, except *Herodian* who coveted afterwards to imitate him in the ſame Subject. But particularly, in the Fifty Sixth Book, he is very curious, where he repreſents the Pomp of *Auguſtus* his Funerals, his Bed of State, his Effigies in Wax, and the Funeral Oration, which *Tiberius* read before the People, he expoſes after that the manner of the burning his body, how *Livia* gathered, and laid up his Bones, finally with what dexterity they made an Eagle part from the *Funeral Pile*, whence that *Bird* of *Jupiter* ſeemed to bear the Soul of the Emperor to Heaven.

The Funeral Oration before mentioned obliges me to remark, that *Dion* freely uſed, not only the Oblique, but the Direct way of Oration alſo in the body of his Hiſtory. Thoſe of *Pompey* to the *Romans*, and of *Gabinius* afterwards, in his Thirty Sixth Book, are of the laſt frame. The Philoſophical diſcourſe of *Philiſcus* to *Cicero*, which

is

is seen in the Eight and Thirtieth, to perswade him to bear his Exile into *Macedonia* constantly, is also in the form of a *Prosopopea*, after a very considerable Dialogue between them Two. The Orations of *Agrippa*, and *Mecanas*, the first of which exhorted *Augustus* to quit the Empire, the Second on the contrary to retain it, are of the same sort, and contain the whole Fifty Second Book. And *Xiphilinus* was not contented, in his Abbreviation of the Sixty Second, to make *Paulinus*, Governor of great *Brittain*, speak a direct Oration to his Troops, ready to Engage with the Brittish Forces, after he had divided them into Three different Bodies, but makes him speak Three separate ones, on the same Subject, to perswade them to fight couragiously, and thereby to obtain the Victory. By this it appears, that they who believe that all sorts of Orations are indecent in History, will not be satisfied with *Dio*'s method of writing, for he abstains not from those, which are most to be avoided, namely the direct, and has made use of Dialogues also. which is contrary to the rules of the Criticks in History; but if we must take notice of his faults, there are others, which deserve sooner to be complained of, than what we mentioned. He is accused of having taken *Cæsars* part too much, against *Pompey*, to accomodate himself to the course of Fortune. Nor seems he more equitable in respect of *Antonius* his Faction, which he alwaies favours to the prejudice of that of *Cicero*.

And

Cicero.

And whoever reads in the Forty Sixth Book, the invective of *Q. Fuſius Calenus*, againſt this incomparable Oratour, will be hardly able to indure all the injuries, with which it ſeems *Dio* would have Sullied his reputation. Not content to make him be reproached, that he was the Son of a Fuller or Dyer, very often reduced to dreſs Vines, or cultivate Olive Trees; he aſſaults his perſon, and touches his honour in all the moſt ſenſible parts: he renders him ridiculous for his fearfulneſs: and to blaſt him the more, affirms, that of all the Orations which were ſeen of his, he delivered not one of them, after the manner in which they were writ, and therefore his want of memory is imputed as a crime to him. But he makes *Calenus* much more ſevere, He would have him contented, not to wear the long Robe, if he had not wanted it to hide his ill-ſhapt Leggs and Feet. And arraigns his Conjugal Bed, to expoſe the vice of his Wives, defaming him to have proſtituted the honour of one of them: and in the mention of his Children, he accuſes him of Inceſt with his Daughter; and repreſents his Son, as an infamous Libertin, Drunk Night and Day. Certainly, to treat one of the greateſt perſons of the Roman Republick thus, is rather like a Satyriſt than an Hiſtorian. But *Dion* does ſo purſue his diſparagement, that in the following Book, he takes a new occaſion to make *Fulvia*, the Wife of *Antonius*, vomit out abundance of reproaches againſt his memory, who pierces his Tongue

Tongue through and through with her Needle.

He has not been much more reſpectful to *Seneca*, if the conjectures of ſome men are not true, who think that *Xiphilinus*, in that part, maliciouſly delivered the thoughts of *Suillius*, or ſome other as bad, for thoſe of *Dio*. Yet we read in what *Conſtantinus* collected out of him, beſides what is related in the Epitomy of *Xiphilinus*, that *Seneca* led a life quite contrary to his Writings, and the Philoſophical profeſſion, to which he pretended. He is accuſed of Adultery, *Lib. 60.* with *Julia* and *Agrippina*, and of the death of the laſt. He is taxed with reading Lectures of *Pederaſty*, to *Nero*, and charged with aſcending the *Theatre* with him, to make Orations in his applauſe. In fine his Luxury and Avarice are aggravated to that pitch, that the cauſe of the Rebellion of *Great Brittain*, is imputed to him, where the People could no more indure his extortion, than *Nero* could ſuffer his Conſpiracies, from which he had no means to deliver himſelf, than by putting ſo bad a Maſter to death. But what we before hinted, that the invectives againſt *Seneca*, are rather the words of *Tigellinus* the abbreviator, than our Author, ſeems to be very manifeſt, becauſe *Dion*, in his Fifty Ninth Book, ſpeaks very honourably of *Seneca*.

We might perhaps accuſe him of Superſtition and Credulity, and thereby ſomething diſcredit his Hiſtory; if ſomething were not to be allowed to Humanity, and if we did not know, that the beſt

best Authors in this kind, have fallen into the same inconveniences. In his Forty Seventh Book he tells us, the Sun appeared at *Rome* sometimes lesser, and sometimes greater than ordinary, to foretel the bloody Battel, fought in the *Fields of Philippi*, which was also signified by many other Prodigies. How he credited the report of the strange quality of the * *Psylli*, to expel poison, may be read in his One and Fiftieth Book, on the Subject of the death of *Cleopatra*, whom these men (since there was no Female amongst them, and they begot themselves) endeavoured in vain, to bring to life again. In his Fifty Eighth Book he reports, that a *Phœnix* was seen in *Ægypt*, in the Seven Hundred and Nineteenth year of the Foundation of *Rome*. In another place he writes, that *Vespasian* cured a Blind Man, by spitting in his Eies, and worked a like *Miracle*, on a Lame mans Hand, which he cured and restored to its vigour, by walking upon it, they being both forewarned in a Dream, that they should receive this benefit from the Emperor. In another place he expresses, that the famous *Apollonius Tyaneus* saw, in the City of *Ephesus*, all that passed at the death of *Domitian* in *Rome*, at the same instant that he received it; so that he cried out, calling on the name of *Stephanus*, which was that of his Murtherer, bidding him *strike boldly*, and soon after that (saies he) it was done; as if *Dion* would have conformed himself to *Philostratus*, who writ at the same time, the *Imaginary*

* *These Psylli are mentioned, to have been imployed by Augustus Cæsar, to cure Cleopatra of her poison, by sucking the venome out of her wounds, that he might carry her in Triumph to Rome. Sueton. in Aug. c. 17.*

Lib. 66.

Lib. 67.

A City of Cappadocia.

nary life of this Philosopher; and as if there were no difference to be put, betwixt true, and Fabulous History. *V. Lib. 8. de Vita Apol. c. 10.*

Though some men, and *Baronius* amongst others, find fault with *Dio*, because he was not favorable to Christianity, I think it not worthy to be considered, since he is to be esteemed as a *Pagan* Author, who was not like to uphold a Religion contrary to that which he professed. It is true that speaking of the victories of *Marcus Aurelius*, he attributes to the Magick Art, of one *Arnuphis* an *Ægyptian*, rather than to the prayers of the Christians, the miraculous Rain, which fell in favour of the Romans, and the strange Tempests, which afflicted the Army of the *Quadi*, whom the learned *Cluverius* takes, for the present *Moravians*. But is it a wonder, in things subject to various interpretations, as are ordinarily such Prodigies, that *Dio*, an Idolatrous Historian, should not give the same judgment, as a believer? And that he spake otherwise of them, than *Tertullian*, *Eusebius*, *Paulus Diaconus*, and some others have done? *Ad Ann. Chr. 176.*

His Stile is by *Photius*, put into the rank of the most elevated, being extraordinarly raised by the loftiness of his thoughts. His discourse, saies he, is full of Phrases, which resemble the Antient construction or Syntaxis, and his expression answers the greatness of the matter he treats of. His periods are often interrupted with Parentheses, and he uses many Hyperbates, or transi-

tions, which are very troublesome when they are not used Artificially after his manner. But one thing is very remarkable, that though his language is very numerous, and adjusted according to Art, yet it appears to be so little laboured, that the Reader does in no wise perceive the care that has been taken in it, because it is so clear and intelligible, that every one presupposes as much facility in the composition, as there is in the reading. He seems to have imitated *Thucydides*, whom he follows, especially in his Narratives, and Orations: But he has the advantage over him, not to be reproached with obscurity: In all else *Thucydides* is the pattern, by which he Copies with all sort of Circumspection. This is the judgment *Photius* gives of him, who is much more creditable in this point, than *Sigonius*, that to say something of his own, long since thought on, accuses *Dio* of being too *Asiatick*, and so prolix in his Orations, that he is troublesome to his Readers. The world must be left to their liberty of thinking, according to the Law of the Romans, *Populo libera sunto suffragia.* Yet I conceive, for what relates to language, the surest way is to leave that to those to whom it is natural, and who have sucked it with their milk, rather than to strangers, who are much more subject to be mistaken.

Besides *Dio's* History, and his little Treatises before mentioned, it seems that *Suidas* ascribes to him, some other compositions, as the *life* of the *Philosopher Arrianus*, the *actions* of *Trajan*, and

and certain *Itineraries*. *Raphael Volaterranus* makes him beſides Author of Three Books, intituled *de Principe*, and ſome ſmall Treatiſes of *Morality*.

We muſt alſo obſerve, that there have been many *Dio's* of great repute; and one amongſt the reſt, who lived an Age before *Dio Caſſius*, in the ſame Emperor *Trajans* time. This is he, who for his Eloquence, had the Surname of *Chryſoſtomus*, who was of *Pruſſia*, and by conſequence of *Bithynia*, as well as the other, and for whom *Trajan* had ſo particular a Love, that he often honoured him with a place by him in his Chariot. Theſe Two *Dions* are diſtinguiſhed, by their profeſſions, as well as their Surnames. The *firſt*, according to the times they lived in, was an Orator, and Philoſopher, the *Second*, an Hiſtorian, and Stateſman, ſuch as we have repreſented him in this Section.

REFLECTIONS UPON THE *HISTORY* OF HERODIAN.

THE History of *Herodian* (as most of those we have already mentioned) receives its commendation, from the merit of its Author. He declares at the beginning of his first Book, that he will only write of the affairs of his own time, which he himself hath seen, or understood from creditable persons; for which he was very competent, because of the publick imployments that he exercised, for he might justly boast, to have passed through the principal charges of the State.

About the end of his Second Book, he acquaints us) before he begins to write of the life of *Septimius Severus*, which contains all the Third Book) that his History in general shall comprehend the space of Seventy years, and treat of the Government of all the Emperors, which succeed-

ſucceeded one another, during that time, that is, from the Reign of *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus* the Philoſopher, to that of the younger *Gordianus* Grandchild of the former, which ſome, with *Julius Capitolinus*, reckon to be the Third of that name. His Eighth Book, which is the laſt of his Work, ends with the unworthy ſlaughter of the Two old men *Balbinus*, and *Pupienus*, whom he calls *Maximus*, committed on them by the *Prætorian* Souldiers, to advance the forementioned *Gordianus Junior* to the Throne.

A Latin Hiſtorian.

Two Roman Emperors killed at Rome An. 237.

Photius writes of his Stile, that he has writ in an Air ſo much the more cléer and agreeable, in that he has not too much affected the *Attick* terms; but ſo tempered his Phraſe, that his diſcourſe is heightned above the lower form of Oration: and as there is nothing ſuperfluous in his writings, ſo it cannot be ſaid, that he has omitted things neceſſary or uſeful to be known: and he adds (to compleat his Elogium of him) that conſidering all the virtues of an Hiſtorian, there are few Authors to whom *Herodian* ought to ſubſcribe.

We have obſerved in the preceding Sections, that he hath, as well as *Dion Caſſius*, informed us of the Pagan Ceremonies, uſed at the Conſecration of their Emperors. It is in the beginning of his Fourth Book, where he ſo well repreſents to us all the Funeral honours, rendered to the Aſhes of *Severus* (which his Children had tranſported from *England*, in an Alablaſter Cheſt)

Cheſt) that it is hard to ſee any where, any thing more exact, and more inſtructive. He tells us how they were put into an Urne, with the general adoration of the Senate and the People, and carried by the Conſuls to the Temple, where the Sacred Monuments of their Emperors were preſerved, and then proceeding to deſcribe the Funeral Pomp, he informs us, that his Effigies in Wax, all clothed in Robes of Gold, was placed at the Gate of his Palace on an Ivory Bed, elevated from the Ground, and magnificently adorned: Where Seven daies together the Senators clothed in black, and the Roman Ladies all in White (without any other Ornaments) came to pay their reſpects, taking their places, the Women on the right, and the men on the left ſide of the Bed, all appearing with very mournful countenances. He obſerves alſo, that the Phyſitians came duly to viſit this repreſentation of the Emperor, making formal approaches to the Bed, as if he were alive, and declaring that his ſickneſs grew daily worſe and worſe; ſo true it is that this world is a continual Comedy. After this time was paſſed over, the moſt conſiderable of the Youth, and the Knights, carried the ſame Bed on their ſhoulders, firſt to the great Market places, where the Magiſtrates of *Rome* uſed to Surrender their charges; and there a Chorus of young men on one ſide, and Virgins on the other, Sung Hymns to the praiſe of the dead Emperor: from thence they proceeded to the

Univerſus Mundus exercet Hiſtoriam, Sen.

the *Campus Martius*, which was out of the Town, where the Bed, and Effigies, were placed in a large square *Tabernacle* of Wood, resembling and elevated, to the height of one of those *Towers*, upon which Lights are placed on the Sea Coasts, to direct Mariners to avoid the dangers of Rocky shores, whereof he makes such exact descriptions, both as to the exterior and interior Ornament, and the several stories of it, that any one may easily thereby comprehend the manner of the structure. In the next place he writes that the Roman Knights made their Horses run round about the *Tabernacle* in certain orderly motions, which were at that time called *Ludus Pyrrhichii*, and in orbicular revolutions. And at the same time there were a certain number of Chariots, filled with persons which represented the most qualified men of the Empire, which also went in a kind of Procession, round the great *Machine*, till the next successor of the Emperor, first took a Torch in his hand, and with it kindled some combustible matter, made for that purpose at the bottom of it, and then in a little time all that *Superbo Edifice* was consumed in Flames, and at the same time they let an Eagle fly, which the Pagan superstition of that Age believed, was to carry away the Soul of the deceased. *Pharos vulgo dict.*

Herodian used direct Orations in all his History. As in the first Book we have that of *Marcus Antoninus* to his friends, a little before his death;

deaths with another which *Commodus* delivered to his ſouldiers (whilſt he was yet very young) to gain their affections to him. And his Eighth Book does as it were conclude, with that ſpeech which *Maximus* made in the middle of his Army, a little before he marched with it to *Rome*; and all his other Books are filled with the like diſcourſes, which are leaning to the form of Declamation; and which without any difficulty he continually uſed as occaſion offered; as may be ſeen by that letter which *Macrinus* writ from *Antioch*, to the Senate and Roman People, in the beginning of his Fifth Book.

He did not moreover avoid Digreſſions in his Compoſitions. There is one in his fifth Book, on the occaſion of that *Idol of the Mother of the Gods*, which the Romans cauſed to be brought from *Phrygia*; after having related that the Stone, all ingraved as it was into the form of the *Image*, fell down from Heaven, in the *Field of Peſſinunta*, and made the Ship that carried it ſtop at the Mouth of *Tyber*, till a Veſtal in proof of her Virginity had drawn it out with her cincture: and he gives no other reaſon for the Sacrifices, which the Eunuchs celebrated to ſuch a Divinity, and many other Fables which depended thereon (in this whole diverſion) than that, writing in Greek, he thought it might be acceptable to his Country-men, to be informed of the Theology of the Latins, whereof few of them had any knowledg.

Julius

Julius Capitolinus mentions *Herodian*, in the *Life* of *Clodius Albinus*, as a good Historian, but accuses him nevertheless, in his *two Maximins*, to have favoured one, in hatred of *Alexander Severus*, whose memory was displeasing to him. He did indeed commend the clemency and mild disposition of that Prince, who reigned Fourteen years, without any effusion of blood, and without taking away the life of any one, otherwise than by the ordinary course of Justice, which he remarks as a virtue very rare, and without example, since *Antoninus Philosophus*.

He was an Historian that writ many Books, whereof some are lost, by the injury of the times. He lived in the time of Diocletian *the Emperor. Voss. de Hist. Latinis Lib.* 1. *Cap.* 7.

As to the Empress *Mammea* (who is proposed by some, as a Pattern to those to whom the Education of such Princes, which they shall have brought into the World, may appertain) he by no means approved of her Government; sometimes he described her as an avaritious person, that invaded the possessions of many persons, by evil and fraudulent means, and saies, she was for that reason hated by her Son. And then he represents her to be so proud, that she could not endure her Daughter in Law *Augusta*, impatient to have the Title of Empress given to any but her self, but banished her into *Affrick*, after having caused her Father to be put to death, against the consent of the Emperor; because he made publick complaints of the wrongs, he, and the young Empress *Augusta* his Daughter had endured by the cruelty of the same *Mammea*: nor was she less injurious to her Son, who, when he

he regretted the defeat of a Roman Army, which was too far advanced into the Country of the *Parthians*, could not but impute the dishonor of it to her, who on pretext of her care, which perswaded him not to hazard his person, was thereby the occasion of the loss of that Army, and all the reproach and infamy that attended it. Nor does *Herodian* assign any other cause of the death of both the Mother, and the Son, who were assassinated by the Souldiers, than the hatred they had conceived against *Mammea*, because of her insatiable avarice and shameless parcimony, whereby *Maximinus* was advanced to the Empire.

Lampridius also, after having called *Mammea* a pious Woman, does not refrain from arraigning the impudence of her avarice, for amassing together all the Gold and Silver she could gather. And when he relates the assassinate of *Alexander Severus*, he saies, that Prince was grievously reproached by his Murtherers, with the covetousness of his Mother. And *Sextus Aurelius Victor* declines not, to have it pronounced to that unfortunate Emperor, at the last moment of his life; that the same person which gave it to him, was the cause of his death. And he adds that *Mammea* had reduced her Son to that extremity, by her frugal humour, that the meat which was untouched at the Table one day, was saved to be served to it the day following, to content her, though at best it was but meanly furnished.

But

But though *Herodian* justly blames *Mammea*, for her ill conduct in the matter of Government of the State, he very much commends her care for the instruction of her Son, excluding from him all depraved persons, and especially those *Pests of Courts*, which flatter the bad inclinations of Princes, and thereby pervert their nature, and immediately vitiate their understandings: She would let none approach him, that were not virtuous in their lives, and of approved behaviour: and so discreetly regulated his time, that it was chiefly occupied, in imployments worthy of him, not permitting any leisure for indecent actions, which are begotten and nourished by idleness, as their proper Aliment. Certainly these wise precautions cannot be sufficiently prised, and do well deserve those commendations which are ascribed to this unhappy *Princess*. Nor was her vigilance, and the great pains she took, to preserve her Son from so vile a Monster as *Heliogabalus* (who tried alwaies, to deprive him of his life) less praise worthy, as *our Historian* observes. And *Lampridius*, who, as it was before hinted, commended her piety of life; adds to it, that never any Prince was better educated, than *Alexander Severus*, in all the exercises of peace and War, by the excellent Masters she provided for him. And he finishes his discourse of the life of that Emperor, in saying he was of a very good disposition, being the Son of a most virtuous Mother. *Zosimus* relates that the Animosity of the

the Souldiery, against *Mammea* and her *Son*, proceeded from her favour to *Ulpian the famed Lawyer*, preferring him above the Captain of the Emperors Guards, which is no small proof of the zeal she had, to maintain the Laws. *The Chronologer Cassiodorus* reports, that the piety and respect which *Alexander* had for his Mother *Mammea*, made him to be beloved by all men. But *Eusebius* has surpassed all others in her commendation, extolling her to be a Lady of virtue and piety, in a more religious sense than that of *Cassiodorus*, and equal to, if not exceeding therein, all the Women of her time, and he improves that his good opinion of her to us; because of her sending for *Origen* from *Antioch*, to confer with him of the misteries of Christianity.

He was Secretary of State, to Theodore *King of* Italy, *An. Dom.* 514. *he writ many Books, and died in a Monastery in* Calabria, *to which he retired:* Le grand dictionaire de Moreri.

What shall we then conclude of the bad reports which *Herodian* writes of her, may we not believe, with *Julius Capitolinus*, that as he was displeased with the Government of *Alexander Severus*, he for that reason arraigned the Qualities of his Mother, or rather that in a mixture of virtues and vices wherewith *Mammea* was taxed, he would suppress neither of them, to acquit himself the better of the duty of an Historian; which last I take to be the most equitable opinion.

Though we consider *Herodian* in this place, but as an Historian, *Suidas* informs us that he writ many other Books, which are not preserved to our time. He was Originally a Grammarian of *Alexandria*, and lived in the Three Hundredth year of

of *Christ*, the Son of one *Apollonius*, surnamed *Difficilis* of the same profession: and perhaps it is for this reason that *Ammianus Marcellinus* calls him, *Artium minutissimum scisitatorem*. However, he passed the best part of his life at *Rome*, in the Courts of the Emperors, where he had the means to inform himself (with that curiosity which appears in his writings) of many excellent particulars, which are no where else to be found.

REFLEC-

REFLECTIONS UPON THE HISTORY OF ZOSIMUS.

THEY who with *Sigonius* make no distinction, between the Historian *Zosimus*, and *Two* or *Three others* of the same name, commit in my opinion an inexcusable fault. For *Suidas* names *Two*; the *First* an *Alexandrian*, that had, amongst other his Works, writ the *life of Plato*; and the *Second*, of *Gaza*, or *Ascalon*, who commented upon the writings of *Demosthenes*, and *Lysias*, in the time of the Emperor *Anastasius*. We ought not therefore to confound this last *Zosimus*, with the *Historian*, who (as *Evagrius* expressly affirms, in his invective against him) lived under *Theodosius the younger*. Neither do I know, why we should take the *Alexandrian* for the same Historian, their writings being quite different, and the Quality of *Count*, and *Advocate of the Treasury* wherewith

Lib. 3. Eccl. Hist. Cap. 41.

with the *last* was dignified, was not attributed to the *other* by *Suidas*, who gives him only the Title of *Philosopher*. *Balthasar Bonifacius* would have it, that the Historian *Zosimus* wrot a Chymical Book *of the Transmutation of Metals*, which he heard was kept in that excellent *Library Royal of Paris*: But he is mistaken in his conjecture, for the Manuscript he mentions, which I have examined, is of one *Zosimus*, who stiles himself *Panopolitanus*, and is indeed a counterfeit name; a practise usual among Chymists, who delight so to deceive one another, by writings, which they ascribe falsly, sometimes to *Democritus*, sometimes to *Zosimus*, and sometimes to others, to give them the better Authority. But the History of *Zosimus* has no resemblance to those compositions. If we may believe *Photius*, it may have some affinity, with *Eunapius his History of the Cæsars*, which *Zosimus* is said to have meerly abridged, so great a likeness there was between one and the other, except in those places where *Stilico* was concerned, whose reputation *Zosimus* did not defame as *Eunapius* did; whereof we might more particularly relate, if the *Venetians* had made publick the *Manuscript*, which we are assured they have of *Eunapius* his History. *Zosimus* as *Evagrius* reports left in his History in six Books, whereof the first comprehends all the *Cæsars* from *Augustus* to *Probus*, and was by the *Author* continued to *Diocletian*; but the matter is so contracted and succinct that nothing

L. de Rom. hist. scr.

Histor. Eccles. l. 3. cap. 41.

thing can be more: the Five other Books are larger, especially when he comes to the time of *Theodosius* the *Great*, and of his Children *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, because he then writ of what he had seen. He goes but a little beyond the Siege which *Alaricus* laid to *Rome*; and the occations of division which some Sowed between *Honorius* and him. And indeed we have but the beginning of the Sixth Book, the end being lost. But I know not upon what Authority *Sigonius* builds, to assert that there was a Seventh Book of *Zosimus* his History, which was also lost, since *Photius* mentions but Six, and no other person sales any thing of a Seventh.

We hinted before, that there was an Invective of *Evagrius* against *Zosimus*, which may be seen more at large in *Nicephorus Callistus*, *Photius* sales indeed that he barks like a Dog, at those of our Christian belief. And few Christian Authors, till *Leunclavius* who translated his History into Latin, made any Apology for him: To say the truth although this learned German defends him very pertinently in many things, showing that they were to blame to require of a Pagan Historian, as *Zosimus* was, other thoughts than those he exposed; or that he should refrain from discovering the vices of the first Christian Emperors, since he also had not concealed their virtues: Nevertheless it may be said, that, in many places, he expressed more Animosity, in that behalf, than the Laws of History do permit. Yet I think,

Lib. 16. Eccl. Hist. Cap. 41. & seq.

I think, he had reason to reproach *Constantine*, of that imposition of *Chrysargyr* or glistering Gold, which *Anastasius* afterwards removed, and that his duty obliged him to arraign his luxury and prodigality: nor was it a fault to have accused him, of having made his Wife *Fausta* to be smothered in too hot a Stove, after he had commanded through Jealousie his own Son *Crispus* to be put to death: Perhaps *Eusebius* writing in this *Constantine*'s time, or at the latest in that of his Son *Constantius*, durst not publish such bold truths, as it happens to those who expose any relations, wherein the Governing Powers are interessed. Nor is it unknown, that *Constantine* committed several other actions worthy of blame. He repealed from Exile the *Arch Heretick Arrius*, to gratify his Sister *Constantia*; and banished St *Athanasius* to *Tryers*, to the great prejudice of Christianity. But nevertheless *Zosimus* cannot be excused, who as much as in him lay, made an ill interpretation of all the actions of this Prince: who made himself a Christian, if you believe him, only because he was told, that Paganism had no faculty to wash away so many crimes as he had committed; and therefore he resolved by the advice of a certain *Egyptian*, to imbrace the Christian Religion, which promised an absolution of all sorts of offences. But this assumption is as if *Zosimus* had penetrated into the inward thoughts of *Constantine*, and all those graces with which his Soul might be filled, by

Lib. 2.

the liberality of Heaven. Moreover, when he speaks of the differences he had with his Brother in Law *Licinius*, he lays all the blame on him, as one that never kept his word. And he is not content to say, that *Constantia* caused him to be strangled in *Thessalonica*, violating thereby his faith given to the Wife of this unhappy person; but it was his usual Stile, to take hold of all occasions to blast his reputation to the World.

And yet it is not on the Subject of *Constantine* alone, that his passion is seen against Christianity. He attributes the fall of the Roman Empire, to the contempt of the Ancient Pagan Religion, and principally to their neglecting in *Diocletian*'s time, the celebration of the *Secular Plays*. And to the misfortunes which happened to *Gratian*, he assigns no other cause, than his refusal as a Christian, to be the *Pontifex Maximus* of the Gentils, for which even *Constantine* (*Lib. 2.*
Lib. 4.
Lib. 5.
Lib. 5.
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of making the poor partake of it, is no small proof of his Animosity. He called that *Olympius*, an Hypocrite, and wicked man, who was the cause of the ruine of *Stilico*, as well to make him alwaies pass for innocent, as because the other was a Christian of great esteem, as may be seen by *Two Letters*, which *Saint Augustin* writ to him. In fine, no person, in my opinion, ought to believe him; when he does not only represent St *John Chrysostome*, as a Seducer of the People; but affirms that Pope *Innocent* the First, whom he names, πόλεως ἐπίσκοπον *urbis Episcopum*, permitted Pagan Sacrifices to be made, for the safety of *Rome*, whilst *Alaricus* besieged it. Ep. 124. & 129.

Zosimus his aversion to Christians will be less wondered at, when one considers what deference he had, to all the Superstitions of Idolatry, which made him tell many tales, that I should think unworthy of History, if I had not already observed, that the like are found even in those, who have writ with the greatest reputation. In the first Book, after the taking of *Zenobia* by *Aurelian*, he recites the Oracles, and shews the Prodigies, which did forerun the ruine, of the *Palmyrenians* her Subjects. And in a Famine towards the *Rhine*, he makes corn enough to fall from Heaven to make bread, and by that means render the Legions of the Emperor *Probus* victorious. The Fable of that *Valesius*, who was warned by a voice, to Sacrifice to *Ceres*,

and *Proserpina*, is seen in his Second Book; And in the Fourth he alledges, that the Sacrifices offered to *Achilles* by one *Nestorius*, defended *Athens*, and all the *Athenian Territory* from a great Earth-quake, after the death of *Valentinian*. In the Fifth, he pretends that the same City was again saved, by the Apparition of that *Hero*, and of *Minerva* who pacified the mind of *Alaricus*, which I leave to the learned *Baronius* to refute. He mentions *Two Statues*, one of *Jupiter*, and the other of that *Daughter* of his, to be miraculously preserved from a fire, happening in *Arcadius* his Reign, in *Constantinople*; and all the misfortunes which overwhelmed the House of *Stilico*, to proceed from the imprecations of a Vestal, because his Wife *Serena* had the temerity to adorn her self, with one of *Rhea*'s attires for the head; and also because she took her Collar, the impiety was punisht with a Cord, wherewith *Serena* being strangled, suffered Death in that part which seemed to be most culpable.

Ad. Ann. Chr. 395. art. 16.

May it not then be reasonable to avouch, that infidelity has made *Zosimus* write many things, either in favour of his Altars whose destruction he was unwilling to see, or against ours which he could not indure, to the prejudice of his History: and that we might be therefore induced to despise it, if it did not contain some curious matters, which are not learned elsewhere. And it is certain that laying aside the excess of sharpness and Animosity, which

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he showed against the first Christian Emperors, it is injustice to take it ill, that he noted their defects, when he omitted not, as hath been said, to praise their virtues, as may be seen, in what he expressed, both of *Theodosius*, and *Constantine*. Was he not obliged in duty, to reproach the Children of the last, with their strange cruelties, in spilling the blood of their nearest Relations? And can we think it strange, that he should exhibit the successours of the First in their lively colours? *Arcadius*, to make the same Allusion, which *Leunclavius* used, *was a true Animal of Arcadia*. His brother *Honorius* was no better: and both miserably polleet by Women, and Eunuchs, who abused their Authority, and were the cause of so many disgraces in the Roman Empire, that its ruin has not a more certain *Epoche*, than the time of their dominion. *Zosimus* had then been faulty, if he had not instructed us in all this, and they are much to blame, who bear him an ill will for having done it.

His Stile is recommendable, in the judgment of *Photius*, for its purity, and that agreeable sweetness, which ordinarily accompanies that which is writ intelligibly. His sentences are short, and his phrase concise, as they ought to have been, since he brought into a narrower compass, what others had more diffusedly exposed before him. It is also for this reason, that *Photius* observes his language to have rarely had any figures,

which are not proper to the manner of writing that he uſed. He likewiſe refrained from Orations, and all thoſe Ornaments which only become high Eloquence: and we cannot but acknowledg, that he is no way comparable to thoſe firſt Hiſtorians which we have already examined.

PROCOPIUS.

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REFLECTIONS UPON THE *HISTORY* OF PROCOPIUS.

PROCOPIUS was a person of great fame in the Reign of *Justinian* the Emperor, he was Secretary to *Belisarius*, all the time when that renowned General was imploied in the Wars of *Persia*, *Affrick*, and *Italy*; and described the actions of many of them. He was both an Orator and a Rhetorician, and no mean Historian. His History contains Eight Books, Two, of the *Persian War*, epitomized by *Photius* in the Sixty Third Chapter of his *Bibliotheca*: Two, of the *Wars* of the *Vandals*: and Four, of that of the *Goths*: Of all which there is a kind of Compendium, in the *Preface* of *Agathias*, who began his History, where *Procopius* left. But besides these Eight Books, *Suidas* mentions a Ninth, which comprehends matters not before published, and he calls it his ἀνέκδοτα or *inedita*, which

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is an invective against *Justinian* and his Wife *Theodora*: and those *spedita* were by *Vossius* thought to be lost; though there have been of late some Editions of them, as will hereafter appear.

He is said, to have used in his History, both oblique and direct Orations, and all such as he believed, might make him approach the method and manner of the Ancients; yet he, as well as *Zosimus*, came far short of them. That which induces me to put him in the Rank of the precedent, is, that I conceive, he may pass with *Agathias*, who follows next, for the Two last Pagan Historians that have writ in Greek, of whom in our time there remains any thing considerable. I know that many take him for a Christian Author: and that in some passages of his works, especially in the Treatise he made of the Edifices of *Justinian*, he speaks like the Christians of his time. But there are other passages in his writings, so contrary to that doctrine, and the opinion of those that believe he is an *Ethnick*, is founded upon such strong considerations, that I cannot but yeild to it. For not insisting upon his seeming in many places, to esteem Fortune a great *Goddess*: and not minding the strange Animosity which he shewed against *Justinian*, grounded partly upon the interest of Religion: that place alone in his First Book of the *Wars* of the *Goths*, where he speaks of the Ambassadors which the Emperor sent to the Bishop of *Rome*, to reconcile the different opinions of Christians,

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is sufficient to undeceive those who considered him as a Christian Historian. *I will not trouble my self, saies he, to relate the Subject of such controversies, (although it is not unknown to me) because I hold it a meer folly to covet to comprehend the Divine Nature, and understand what God is. Human wit knows not the things here below, how then can it be satisfied in the search after Divinity? I let alone therefore such vain matter, and which the credulity of man only causes to be respected; contenting my self with acknowledging, that there is one God full of bounty, who governs us, and whose power stretches over this whole Universe. Let every one therefore believe what he thinks fit, whether he be a Priest and tyed to Divine Worship, or a man of a private and secular condition.* How could he more plainly deride all our Theology, and the zeal of the Fathers of the Church, who were then busied in suppressing the Heresie of the *Arrians*, in what relates to the Second person of the Trinity? His discourse expresses him to be a perfect *Deist*, who thought, as many other Philosophers have done (and amongst the rest that *Melissus* in *Hesychius*) that one could determin nothing of God but rashly, and that it was impossible to have any knowledg of him. How can it be imagined, that such a man was a Christian, who founded his whole belief of Heavenly matters upon such erronious maxims? If we add to this, the marks of Pagan Superstition which appear in all his books, we shall be hardly able

Ἀπὸ νοίας μανιώδοις.

able to distinguish him from the most profane of the *Gentils*. The Tale he tells in the first book of the *Persian War*, of the Artifice used by some of the *Magi*, to make One *Arsaces* confess the truth, is of this strain. They covered one half of a borded Floor with *Persian* Earth, and the other with *Armenian*, and both of them conjured in such a sort, that when *Arsaces* was upon the last half which was that covered with his country Earth, he confessed all that he had denied upon the other. In the following Book, he relates that some *military Ensigns* turned of themselves, from the West to the East, presaging thereby the calamity wherein the Inhabitants of *Antioch* fell. He makes King *Genzeriah*, in the first Book of the *War* of the *Vandals*, to understand by the flight of an *Eagle* upon the head of *Martianus*, that he should be one day Emperor. And he reports, that *Attila* ready to quit the Siege of *Aquileia*, staied his enterprise upon seeing a Stork carry its young ones out of the City. And in the same Book he relates one of his dreams, which was the most vain that sleep could form; and yet to testify how much he relyed on it, he confesses that nothing but that made him resolve on his Sea Voyage with *Belisarius*. Nor are his Writings concerning the War with the *Goths*, less exempt from such like superstition; wherein he makes a Jew foretel, by Thirty Hogs, the ruin of the *Goths* in *Italy*: and *Constantin* bury in the chief Market-place of the City

Lib. 1.

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(which bears his name) that renowned *Palladium* of *Æneas*, purposely transported thither from *Rome*. Which wild relations have no conformity with the purity of Christian Religion.

But since we have mentioned something of that ill will *Procopius* bore to *Justinian*, which he made so visible in his *Anecdota*, it is expedient to examin that work a little: because it is the place from whence, those who pretend to defame this Emperor, have always collected their detractions. If we make it apparent that *Procopius* was much to blame, in writing so defamatory a Satyr against his Soveraign, to gratify his passion; we shall at the same time render those aspersions inconsiderable, which others have cast upon his reputation. The word *Anecdota* imports that it was a secret work, and that the Author thereof had no mind to be known. He is judged to have composed it, in the Two and Thirtieth year of the Empire of *Justinian*, and left it imperfect, as well because he repented that he was so far transported, as for the satisfaction he received in his Stipend (which was then paid him) and many other favours which he obtained. He had complained in several places before that one, that the Salaries of such serviceable men as he were detained: and it was an insupportable grief unto him, to see himself excluded from those honorable places and imployments above Thirty years, to which others were admitted, whose desert he thought no way equal to his. *Inedita.*

his. Lastly having been *Belisarius* his Secretary, during all the Wars of *Persia*, *Affrick*, and *Italy* (as it was before mentioned) he was received into the number of the Senators: attained unto the Quality of Illustrious, which was given to few men: and to compleat his dignity the Emperor made him *Prefect* of new *Rome*, where all offices were inferiour to his. In the mean time his book of *Anecdota* remained; *Suidas* makes mention of it, and they who for divers considerations have been animated against the memory of *Justinian*, made use of it and alledged the matters in it to his prejudice: it was not long since printed with Expositions and Comments (as bad as the Text they explain) others besides my self have already indeavoured to confute the absurdities of it; but it shall suffice to shew summarily, that all which *Procopius* has writ of History will prove ridiculous, if never so little credit be given to the Calumnies of this piece.

Thomas Rivius, and Gabriel Trivorius.

He protests in the beginning of the First Book of the *Persian War*, that he cannot be reasonably reproached of writing any thing for favour, or to oblige the undeserving; nor of refraining to speak the truth to spare a friend: and acknowledges in the same place, that as Eloquence is the object of Rhetorick, and Fable that of Poetry; the knowledg of truth is the only end of History. After this declaration what can be said in his excuse, for having represented *Justinian* in

in his History, as a mighty and most virtuous Prince, and in this Libel rendred him the most infamous and vicious of men? The fear of offending the Soveraign Powers which is thereupon alledged, cannot qualify such a shameful diversity, nor reconcile so manifest a contradiction. And *Procopius* is at the same time convinced of having trespassed, against the two most important Laws of History, whereof one forbids the writing of lies, and the other, concealing of a truth which ought to be discovered. But for a better understanding of this matter it may not be impertinent to proceed to some particulars.

It is certain that *Procopius* ever made very honourable mention of *Justinian*, and his Wife *Theodora* in his History, although he did it not so often as he might. In the second Book of the War against the *Persians*, he extols the Emperor for providence joined with singular piety, on the subject of that great Pestilence which passed from *Ægypt* to *Constantinople*, where he used all possible means to allay it. And in his *Six Narrations* of the *Edifices* of the same *Justinian*, he incessantly celebrates his greatness of courage, his devotion, liberality, clemency, and magnificence. That Monastery of *Penitent Women*, whom the Empress *Theodora* withdrew from vice, gives him occasion to commend her zeal and charity jointly with her Husbands, although he recounts the action otherwise in his *Anecdota*. But he has remembred this Lady in many places of his History

She was a common Comedian before he married her.

Lib. 1. de Bello Pers. story with great titles of honour. When a councel was held to resist the enterprises of *Hipatius* (who had caused himself to be proclaimed Emperor in *Constantinople*) he makes her argue so generously that, as he affirms, nothing infused so much courage into the whole imperial councel, as her Heroical resolution. And when he describes the ill conditions of that *Johannes* of *Cappadocia* who was turned out of his office of *Prefect* of the *Pretorait*, he saies, he was so indiscreet and rash, as to slander the Empress *Theodora* even in the presence of *Justinian*, whom he there Stiles a very discreet Lady. And though he did not praise her in other places of his History, he never blamed her. In the end of the Second Book of the *Persian War*, he mentions her death, but does not speak ill of her. And in the Third treating of the War of the *Goths*, he again remembers her decease; which happened at the same time that *Belisarius* sent his Wife *Antonina* to Court, to forward his affairs there by the favour of the Empress, which he relates without using the least invective against her.

But let us now see the reverse of the Medal, and with how many different colours he draws the Picture of *Justinian* and *Theodora*, in that extravagant Satyr which we complain of.

Pag. 37. To render this Prince the more odious, he will have him resemble *Domitian* in his outward form, whose memory was so much abhorred, that by a Decree of the Senate of *Rome*, his Statues

tues wear beat down through the whole Empire, and his name razed out of the publick inscriptions. But though he is constrained in the comparison he makes of these Two Monarchs, to confess that *Justinian* was not ill-favoured, yet he likens him in one place to an Ass, not only for his dulness and sottishness, but also in respect of his wagging Ears, which made him be called in a full *Theatre* γάνδαρο that is to say *Master Ass*, by those of the *Prasine Faction* whereto he was an Enemy; according to the observation of *Nicolaus Alemannus*, who lately caused these *Anecdota* to be printed with Historical Notes of the same kind. Moreover he makes him a Prince, that condemned upon the first, and very sight information without hearing; and would coldly and without any remorse, order the razing of places, the sacking of *Cities*, and the desolation of Provinces. The love of Women, he saies, transported him beyond all bounds; and he was an irreconcilable Enemy. He also accuses him to make a show of being a Christian, but that in his heart he esteemed the Heathen Deities. His prodigality (he writes) especially in building, forced him to use strange exactions, so that besides the extraordinary Tolls, he drew from the Prefect of his Tribunal of Justice, a tribute, which he himself called in a scoffing manner *an Airy Lap*, because it had no other foundation than his covetous and Tyrannical humour. His light mind was susceptible of all impressions except humanity.

Pag. 36.

Pag. 39. & 59.

Pag. 91.

humanity. He never kept his word, but when it was to his advantage: and was so transported with flattery, that nothing made him affect *Tribonianus* so much, as hearing of him once say, that he feared his extream piety would make Heaven steal him from the Earth on a sudden, and when it was least thought of. Lastly, it seemed, if this Character of him was true, that Nature had took pleasure to instil into the Soul of this Monarch, all the defects which are capable to defame the rest of Mankind. And the more easily to betray those they had a mind to ruin, his Empress and he laid this Snare, they feigned to be alwaies at discord, so that the one to compass their design, sided with those of the *blew Livery*, the other openly favoured the contrary party namely the *Green*, which were the Two factions of that time. They were both of them so impious, saies this Detractor, that many persons to insinuate themselves into their esteem, seemed to be wicked and have all their inclinations bent to vice. And amongst those who knew them so well as *Procopius*, they passed for no other than *Devils* Incarnate, and true *Furies* invested with humanity, more conveniently to infest human kind, incense Nations one against the other, and turn all the world upside down. It is certain, as he pretends, that the Mother of *Justinian* often confessed, that he was not begotten by her Husband *Sabbatius*, but an *Incubus* who lay with her. And as for *Theodora*, they who loved her

Pag. 60.

Pag. 56.

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while she was a *Comedian*, reported that *Demons* of *Nocturnal Spirits* often forced them from her, to take their places in her bed. That part of the book which for shame was cut off, from the One and Fortieth, and Two and Fortieth Pages of the printed *Anecdota*, was sent to me from *Rome*, wherein *Procopius* renders this Woman Author of actions so strangely incontinent, that I think no body has reason to envy the *Vatican Library* the *Original* entire, and that such abominations were never heard off. But let this that has been writ, suffice for a brief description of *Justinian* and *Theodora*, according to the lineaments wherein *Procopius* has represented them, in that infamous work which discredits all the rest we have of his. I shall not inlarge on what *Nicephorus Bartholus*, *Johannes Faber*, *Gennadius*, and several others have written of *Justinian*, who report that he was ranked amongst the *Saints*, assigning even the *Calends of August* for his holy day. But though he and his Empress had been the most vicious persons in the World, *Procopius* ought not to have been so unlike to himself, and so unfaithful to truth, as to speak of them so as he did, overthrowing the Faith of his History, in his book of *Antidota*; and that of *Anecdota*, in his Treatise of the *Edifices of Justinian*, which is the last of his works. But without undertaking to refute so many calumnies, what appearance is there to accuse this Emperor of cruelty, after he had given the world a proof

Lib. 58.

of his clemency, by his gentle usage not only of the *Vandal* Kings, but of *Vitiges*, and *Gilimer*, those very Subjects who had conspired against his person and government. *Johannes de Cappadocia* his prefect, and the valiant Captain *Artabanes* convicted of perfidiousness, escaped with imprisonment only, and the Last in a short time was restored to his offices, and the favour of that Prince, from whom he would have taken both life and Empire. I know that he is reproached for having been too severe to *Belisarius*. Yet we read nothing of it in *Procopius*, who in all likelihood would not have concealed it. *Agathias* writes plainly that those who envied this great Captain, were the cause that his services were not worthily rewarded, without speaking one word either of the condemnation, or confiscation of his goods. *Gregory of Tours* alledges, that *Justinian* was necessitated to substitute in his place the *Knights Nerses* in *Italy*, because he was too often defeated there by the French, adding that to humble him, the Emperor reduced him to his first place of *Constable* of *Constantinople*, as it was not long since in *France*. Some, but petty writers of no Authority, affirm that being reduced to extream misery, he was forced to beg; but that must be accounted as a Fable: and on the contrary we may observe in his person the bounty of his Prince, who having heaped riches and Honours on him, never treated him worse, although endeavours

Lib. 3. Hist. cap. 32.

vours were thrice used to render him suspected of designing to be master of the State. It is also strange that he upbraids *Justinian* with his buildings, who writ a book purposely in their commendation, and who describing the lofty structure of so many Churches, Hospitals, and Monasteries, did no less admire the Piety, than the magnificence of their Founder. *Evagrius* attributes unto him the reparation or re-establishment of a Hundred and fifty Cities; But I see no reason for this to be imputed to his disadvantage. Nor has the love of Women, for which his reputation is blemished, any better foundation. For though he may be blamed, for having ingaged himself so far in the affection of *Theodora*, as to extort from his Predecessor *Justin*, new laws in favour of *Actresses*, that she might be qualified to marry him; we cannot therefore accuse him, like *Procopius*, for having abandoned his thoughts to Women, without specifying any particulars, when neither his own History, or any other mentions those Ladies to whom he was so passionately addicted; and who doubtless would have prevailed on his weakness, if he had been so fond on that side, as the *Anecdota* would make it be believed. I could not forbear to manifest in some sort, the absurdity of these Two or Three heads of accusation, by which one may judge of the rest, though they were not confuted either by themselves, or by what we had observed before we proposed them.

I must nevertheless, add this only word on the Subject of the *Stupidity* of *Justinian*, that though he had *wagging Ears* as the *Satyr* applies to him, he was never so blockish as he represents him.

The truth is, a fault which was committed a a Hundred and Fifty years ago, by one *Chalcondylius* that then printed *Suidas* by a corrupt Copy, where the name of *Justinian* passed for that of *Justin*, with the Surname of ἀναλφάβητος *an illiterate man*, which even *Procopius* attributes only to the last, who could not so much as write his name; has made worthy men mistake: amongst which *Alciatus* and *Budæus*, when upon this false Authority, which all the *Vatican Manuscripts* contradict, they ranked *Justinian* with the most ignorant Princes that ever were. I was curious to see in the King of *France* his Library, Three other *Manuscripts* of *Suidas* which are there, to assure me of the mistake which happened in that impression: Two of the best account were very correct, and ascribe this ignorance to *Justin* alone (who was known to be a mean keeper of Oxen, before he bore Arms by which he attained to the Empire) but the Third was false, and in that *Justinian* was called *Justin*, which shews that the Impression before mentioned probably followed a Copy, as erronious as the printed Book. In the mean time it is notorious, that *Justinian* had made a great progress in learning, under his *Tutor* the *Abbot Theophilus*,

Anecd. Pag.28.

lus. Many Books are aſcribed unto him by *Iſidorus* and others. *Caſſiodorus* his letters ſtile him moſt learned. And this obſervation has been alſo made, that many crowned Heads at the ſame time made profeſſion of Philoſophy, *Choſroes* in *Perſia*, the unfortunate *Theodahatus* in *Italy*, and our *Juſtinian* at *Conſtantinople*; which plainly diſcovers the injury that is done him, by thoſe tearms of *ſtupid* and *ignorant*.

Though *Procopius* is to blame for having yeilded ſo much, to his particular reſentments againſt *Juſtinian*, the reading of his Hiſtory is of great moment, becauſe we can learn from no other, what he delivers as an Eye-witneſs, of the Wars of this Emperor in *Perſia*, of the *Vandals* in *Affrick*, and of the *Goths* in *Italy*. It was that which made *Leonard Aretin* commit the crime of a *Plagiary* (for we have no other tearm to ſignifie that ſort of theft) when he had a mind to publiſh their Hiſtory in Latin. For being not able to learn almoſt any thing of them elſewhere, he reſolved to Tranſlate the Three books of *Procopius* into the Roman Language; dividing them into Four by making Two of the laſt, and reſcinding in ſome places, what he judged leſs important to his Country, and adding ſomething in others; as the burning of the *Capitol* by *Totilas*, by whom as *Procopius* affirms, ſo much of *Rome* was not conſumed by fire, as *Aretin* reports. In the mean time he is contented to ſay in his Preface, that he uſed ſome Forreign Commen-

caries, or Greek relations, not naming the person of whom he is meerly a bad translater, by an affected forgetfulness which cannot be too much condemned. We have already in our foregoing Sections, exclaimed upon those who counterfeit Authors, ascribing books to persons that never thought upon making of them. And certainly it is a great point of infidelity thus to deceive as much as one can even all mankind: But as this vice is very great, I find that of a *Plagiary* which is the contrary, and takes away instead of giving, to be much the more shameful; because there is nothing more vile or infamous than to steal, and they who apply to themselves other mens labours, confess their own inability to produce something of value. But to return to *Procopius*, he was acquainted under *Belisarius*, with almost all the secrets of State of that Age, which renders his History of great weight. But the excessive zeal which he has for this *General*, makes *Bodin* amongst others, accuse him of too much partiality towards him. Thus *Eginard* is reproved for having alwaies flattered *Charlemagne*; *Eusebius*, *Constantine*; *Paulus Jovius*, *Cosmo di Medici*; *Sandoual* Charles the Fifth; and several others, the Princes whom they affected to oblige at the expence of truth. It is certain that *Procopius* never speaks but to the advantage of *Belisarius*; he illustrates all his actions, and rather chuses to suppress a part of the successes
pag. 58. which he recites, than to write any thing which might

might any waies blemish the reputation of his *Hero.* I shall produce one single instance, and such a one that I think is not to be matched in any other Historian, the place is in his Second Book of the War of the *Vandals*, where, after the Oration of *Belisarius* to his Souldiers, and Two others of his Adversary *Stozas*; *Procopius* writes that the Troops of the former revolting, forced their Chiefs to retire into a Temple where they were all killed. He was obliged in reason to signifie thereupon what became of *Belisarius*, who one would think was massacred with the rest. But because it was an unhappy event, without telling how he came off; *Procopius* adds only, that *Justinian* upon this ill-news dispatched away his *Nephew Germanus*, who came and took possession of the command of the Armies in *Affrick*; and not saying the least word of *Belisarius*, he makes his narration so lame that the Reader knows not where he is. The Latin Text is a little defective here, having not all which is read in the Greek, yet this fault we speak of appears also in that version.

This puts me in mind of another place, in the Second Book also of the War of the *Goths*, where upon a meet Letter of *Belisarius* to *Theodebert* King of *France*, he quits the pursuit of his victories in *Italy*, and returns hastily into his Country. He acknowledged his fault, saies he, and his temerity, as soon as he had read the Letter of *Belisarius*, returning with all speed to *France*:

France; as if this powerful Monarch came thither like a raw Schollar, without having well considered what he did; and the Rhetorick of *Belisarius* had obliged him and all his Councel, to absent themselves for want of a reply. Certainly there is a great defect of judgment in this passage, and *Aretin* had reason to supply something of his own in this place, saying that hunger and want of victuals made the Victorious *French* return into their Countries. He might have added sickness, according to the relation of *Gregory* of *Tours* who speaks of this retreat. I find moreover, that our *Historian* makes *Theodebert* Author of an action, which does not agree with what he had said a little before of him, namely that the *French* were the men of the world, who violated their Faith the most; when the letter of *Belisarius*, which upbraids that Prince with nothing else but not observing Treaties, had nevertheless such power over him. An Author of more judgment would not have said so, nor have rashly offended a whole Nation, with the like Animosity wherewith the *Romans* declaim against the *Greek* and *Punick* Faith, at the same time when they themselves were the most unfaithful, that ever had been, to all Nations of the World. I must, before I leave that place where *Procopius* spoke so ill of the *French*, do the Nation reason, by remarking with how much malice and absurdity, he makes them in the same place, become Masters of the Camp of the *Goths*, and

Lib. 3. *Hist. cap.* 32.

and of that of the Grecians Romanized, as it were by a ſurprize, although they exceeded the number of a Hundred Thouſand: as if their Army deſcended from Heaven upon the heart of *Italy*, like Graſhoppers, which a boyſterous Tempeſt of wind tranſports ſometimes, from one Region to another. But ſince we reprove him of having been too partial, let us ſtop here the courſe of the zeal, which we have for our *Anceſtours*, that it may not be judged exceſſive. *Meaning the French.*

To conclude, I think that *Procopius* deſerves to be read attentively, eſpecially in conſideration of the things which he alone treats of with an exact knowledge. And that beſides a great diſcretion is to be uſed in reading of him, to diſcern the good things from the bad, and the defects, whereof we have produced Examples, from what he has writ more judiciouſly. He was of *Ceſarea* in *Paleſtine*, from whence he came to *Conſtantinople*, in the time of the Emperour *Anaſtaſius*, whoſe eſteem he obtained, as well as that of *Juſtin* the Firſt, and *Juſtinian*. *Suidas* after he had given him the Surname of *Illuſtrious*, calls him *Rhetorician* and *Sophiſter*, as truly he ſeems to have been too much for an Hiſtorian. He is diffuſed, but with a Copiouſneſs more *Aſiatick* than *Athenian*, which has often in it more ſuperfluity than true Ornament. *Photius* only inſerted in his *Library*, as was before mentioned,

an

an abſtract of the Two Books of the War againſt
Cap. 160. the *Perſians*, although he made ſome mention of the reſt. He diſtinguiſhes him elſewhere, from another *Procopius* ſurnamed *Gazeus*, who lived in the ſame time of *Juſtinian*, and who alſo was a Rhetorician by Profeſſion. If I durſt
M. Guet. follow the judgment of one of the men of this Age, who has the greateſt inſight into the Greek Tongue; I ſhould willingly be of his mind, that the Book of *Anecdota* is a ſuppoſed work, and falſely aſcribed to the Hiſtorian *Procopius*. For that which is really his, is writ in a Stile much different from that of this Satyr, and has much more of the Air of Ancient *Greece*. But becauſe even they who have writ againſt the *Anecdota*, ſeem to agree, that they are his to whom they are imputed, I was obliged to make the precedent Reflections, and to treat *Procopius* upon this Foundation, more to his diſadvantage than I had otherwiſe done. It is true, that at the ſame time I end this Section, an Epiſtle of *Balthaſar Boniface* to the *Clariſſimo Molini*, which I read even now, hinders me from repenting of what I did. It is printed at the end of his judgment upon thoſe who wrot the *Roman* Hiſtory. And becauſe they did not mention the *Anecdota* in the Chapter of *Procopius*, he takes occaſion to declare his opinion to that *Noble Venetian* in the ſaid *Letter*. He appears to be no leſs concerned than I, at ſuch an inſolent invective. And

Wonders,

wonders, as I did, that *Rivius*, and they who undertook to answer it, never thought of considering it as a supposed piece, although he himself comes to no determination therein, being only content to declare how much he suspects it.

REFLEC-

REFLECTIONS
UPON THE
HISTORY
OF
AGATHIAS.

I HAVE as much reaſon to doubt of the Religion of *Agathias*, as I had of that of *Procopius*. For when he ſpeaks, in the beginning of his Hiſtory, of the *French* of his time; he praiſes them amongſt other things, for being all Chriſtians, and becauſe they entertained (as he adds) very good thoughts of God. But when he gives a reaſon in his Third Book, why the fortreſs of *Onogoris* Situate in *Colchis*, was called in his time the *Fort of* St *Stephen*; he reports, that this *Protomartyr* was ſtoned to death in that *Place*, uſing the term φασὶν *as they ſay*, or *as it is ſaid*; from whence many draw a ſtrong proof of his infidelity. The moſt common opinion alſo, founded as well on this paſſage, as on ſome others, liſts him in the number of the *Gentils*; although he never railed any more than

Proco-

Procopius, against Christianity; as most Pagan Historians did in imitation of *Zosimus*. The time wherein these Two lived, not favouring Paganism, is perhaps the only cause. He himself declares in his *Preface*, that *Myrina* a City of *Asia*, was the place of his Nativity; which he distinguishes from another of *Thrace*, bearing the same name. His Father was called *Memnonius*; and he professed the Law, pleading at the *Judicatories of Smyrna* in Quality of an Advocate, as *Suidas* reports; whence he had the Surname of *Scholasticus*: because the places where the *Roman* Laws were taught, then went under the name of Schools, as they are even at this time in some places called. He confesses that Poetry was the Mistris of his first affections, which led him to write many small Poems in Heroick Verse, that he published under the Title of *Daphnicks*. And there are certain of his Epigrams collected by divers hands, whereof, I believe, many are seen in the *Greek Anthology* under his name. And this renders his Stile so agreeable and Florid, having undertook History, by the advice of *Eutychianus* the First Secretary of State, as approaching in this respect to, and bordering (as he tearms it) upon Poetry. *Sigonius* and *Verderius* were of another mind concerning his writing, and that very different from this opinion, slighting him amongst the lowest and impurest writers. But they were not only mistaken in *Agathias* his Stile; but have been accused for several

veral other rash judgments; so that I have been constrained many times hitherto, to follow some more equitable censures than theirs. He began not to write till after the death of *Justinian*, in the Reign of *Justin* the *Second*, as he himself declares in his *Preface*, beginning his History where *Procopius* left. And I doubt not, but that great Statesman *Eutychianus*, who put him upon so high an Enterprise, and who was his intimate friend, furnished him with many rare pieces and Memorials of consequence, to make him so successful as he has been. There are *Letters* and *Direct Orations* in all his Books; as that of *Narses* in the Two First; of *Aetes* in the Third; of the *Deputies* of *Colchos* in the Fourth; of *Belisarius* in the Fifth. And not content to penetrate into the Councels, and to discover the principal causes of events, he frequently gives his judgment thereupon: and contrary to the custom of *Xenophon* and *Cæsar*, who never declare what they think of things, he delivers his opinion of matters; and therein imitates some great Authors, who were not of the mind of these we mention.

Although *Agathias* highly commends *Procopius*; he does not refrain from following opinions very contrary to his, and even reproves him sometimes, for having given unreasonable conjectures: of which there are many examples; the most considerable whereof, is that which he said to the advantage of the *French*, in his First Book,

against

against the infamous reproach which *Procopius* had cast upon them, of being the most unfaithful of men. *Agathias* on the contrary, after he had shown that they were very polite and civil, as they who already made use of the Roman Laws almost in all things, adds, that they were to be esteemed for nothing so much, as the exact justice they observed without exception, their Kings themselves being not exempted from it; whereby they lived in an admirable Union. Certainly, besides that justice is a transcendent virtue, and which comprehending all others, cannot subsist without fidelity; nothing is more contrary to it, than breach of word or Faith, and consequently *Agathias* could not more reasonably contradict *Procopius*, nor make better amends for the wrong he had done the *French Nation*.

It is observable, that notwithstanding these Two Historians had such opposite thoughts in what concerned us, they agreed in what related to the greatness and independence of our Kings. *Procopius* acknowledges, in the Third Book of the *Gothish* War, that They, and the Roman Emperors, were the only Monarchs in the World, who had the privilege to stamp their Images on golden Coin; so that even the King of *Persia*, who had such glorious Titles, durst not attempt to do the like. *Agathias* also speaking of King *Theodebert*, saies, that he was so much offended to see, that the Emperor *Justinian* assumed among other Titles, that of *Francicus*; as if he had conquered *The French.*

conquiered the *French*, and held some right of superiority over them; that for this consideration alone he resolved to go and subdue *Thrace*, lay Siege to *Constantinople*, and overthrow the Roman Empire, whereof that City was then the *Capital*. I know that the same *Agathias* calls that design rash, presupposing that *Theodebert* would have perished in so bold, or, to use his tearm, in so furious an Enterprise. Nevertheless he confesses, that this King had brought it to such a pass; that if he had not been killed, as he was hunting a wild Bull, nothing had retarded him in it: and God knows, whither the event would have answered the conjectures of Our *Historian*. But we may say that these are unreproachable testimonies, of the absolute power of the French Monarchy, which never acknowledged any Superiour but God (and according to the words of a good *Gaule* to *Alexander*) any thing but Heaven to be above it.

To return to the reflections of *Agathias*, very different from those of *Procopius*, which seem to have the force of argument wholly on their side, we will examine a very remarkable place of his Fourth Book. Where he cannot endure that *Procopius*, not content to say that *Arcadius* left his Son *Theodosius*, and Empire, to the protection of *Isdigerdes* King of *Persia* (which no Author worthy of credit ever writ before him) should moreover praise the action, as if it were full of prudence: and add, that although *Arcadius* was not very

very discreet in other things, yet in this he shewed wisdom, and demeaned himself very prudently. This, saies *Agathias*, is judging of things by their success, as the vulgar alwaies do; but weighing them with reason, it will be found, that a Soveraign never did any thing more blameworthy, than this Declaration of *Arcadius*: for he seemed in it to make a Wolfe Gardian of a Sheep, trusting his Son and State in the hands of their greatest Enemy; through a confidence which though it is sometimes tolerable in private men, was not sufferable when the safety of a young Monarch lay at stake, and the preservation of a Crown by so much the more envied, as it pretended to give Laws to all others. Methinks, every one ought to yeild to this opinion of *Agathias*, and conclude with him, that in the event of this Tuition, happy as it appeared, there is more reason to admire the goodness and integrity of the King of *Persia*, than the wisdom of the Emperor *Arcadius*.

Amongst many very remarkable things found in the Five Books of the History of *Agathias*, particular notice is to be taken, not only of what he saies of the following Oriental Monarchies, towards the end of the Second; but chiefly of what he adds in the Fourth, concerning the succession of the Kings of *Persia*, since *Artaxares* who restored the Empire to them, from whose hands the *Parthians* had taken it, and placed it in their own. For besides his care and industry

to handle this matter well, the authority of one *Sergius* an *Interpreter* is of great weight, who had from the *Annalists* and Library-keepers of the *Perſian* Kings, all that this *Hiſtorian* delivers unto us. Wherefore doubtleſs, he had reaſon to correct the writings of *Procopius*, by the Records wherewith this Interpreter had furniſhed him, and to prefer them before all other relations; becauſe they that deſcribe the Hiſtory of their own Country, are rather to be believed than ſtrangers, eſpecially if their diſcourſe be grounded on ſuch Authentick Pieces, as were thoſe of the *Publick Archives*, which were communicated unto *Sergius*. Thus we have finiſhed all we purpoſed, on the firſt part of our Enterpriſe; and ſhall proceed to the Second, which is to conſider the writings of the moſt conſiderable of the Latin Hiſtorians, which remain of the Ancients.

Places where Ancient Records were kept.

THE

THE SECOND PART,

BEING

REFLECTIONS

upon the Writings

OF THE LATIN

HISTORIANS.

THE
SECOND PART
OF
REFLECTIONS
UPON THE LATIN
HISTORIANS.

REFLECTIONS
UPON THE
HISTORY
OF
CRISPUS SALUSTIUS.

THE ſame reaſon which induced me to give *Herodotus*, the firſt place amongſt the *Greek Hiſtorians*, obliges me to allow the ſame rank, amongſt the *Latin*, to *Criſpus Saluſtius*, although there have been ſome much more Ancient than he. For it is known that *Ennius* had writ Eighteen Annals in Heroick Verſe long before him: and that *Nevius* in the ſame Age deſcribed the *firſt Punick War*, in another ſort of Verſe called *Saturnian*. *Fabius Pictor* was the firſt of the Romans (as *Voſſius* obſerves) that compiled a Hiſtory in Latin

Prose. *Posthumius Albinus*, *Cassius Hemina*, and *C. Fannius*, whom *Salust* celebrates for true Historians, writ after him. And *Cato* with his *Origines Historicæ*, *Sempronius*, *Valerius Antias*, and *Quadrigarius* (so often quoted by *Aulus Gellius*) may be all said to have preceded *Salust* in this sort of writing. But since there remains to us nothing of their works, but the grief for the loss of them (the Histories of *Fabius*, *Cato*, and *Sempronius* delivered unto us by *Annius of Viterbum*, being all counterfeit, by an imposture which we have already complained of more than once) is it not just to begin this our Second Enterprise with *Salust*, from whom we have Entire pieces of History, and other Fragments which all learned men respect? I know that *Julius Cæsar* is as Ancient as he, and that some even affirm, that *Salust* though Elder, died Seven years after the murder of this *Emperor*. It cannot be a fault to give precedence in this place, now he is dead, to One that he could never indure while he lived. The name of *Commentaries* rather than *History* which his works bear, invites me to it: And the language of *Salust* (that is taxed with the Air of Antiquity, and affectation of the old words of *Cato*) may be another Motive, in which also the judgment of *Martial* (which all the world alledges in his favour) very plainly concurs:

Mart. in Apoph.

Hic erit, ut perhibent doctorum corda virorum,
Crispus Romanâ primus in Historiâ.

Besides

Beſides the reproach made him by *Aſinius Pollio*, for having too much affected that old way of writing, which *Cato* uſed in his *Origines*, the quite contrary vice is imputed to him (*Viz.*) of making too many new words; *Audacious Tranſlations*, as *Suetonius* calls them; and Phraſes purely Greek; Whereof *Quintilian* gives this Example, *Vulgus amat fieri*. Moreover he is accuſed of having been too conciſe in his expreſſions, thereby rendering his Stile obſcure and difficult, as ſhortneſs ordinarily confines upon obſcurity. Wherefore the ſame *Quintilian* inſtructs young men to read *Livy* more than *Saluſt*; and charges them to avoid carefully, that broken and contracted way of writing, of which *Saluſt* made a perfection; and which is truly very agreeable in him: but we ought not to propoſe it to our ſelves for imitation, becauſe it may render us inſenſibly leſs intelligible, which is very contrary to true Eloquence. We learn alſo from divers paſſages of *Aulus Gellius*, that many perſons in his time, found fault with the Education of *Saluſt*; though it appears ſufficiently, that he himſelf was not diſpleaſed with it: for he calls him in one place, *Subtiliſſimum brevitatis Artificem*, and in another, *Proprietatum in verbis retinentiſſimum*, *Seneca* likewiſe, whoſe Stile fitted to his Philoſophical profeſſion, is wonderful ſhort and interrupted, does not forbear to rail at the affectation of one *Aruntius*, who in his Hiſtory of the *Punick Wars*, took great pains to expreſs it

A. Gell. l. 1. c. 15.

L. 9. inſt. cap. 3.

L. 2. inſt. c. 5. & l. 4. c. 2.

L. 3. c. 1. l. 4. c. 15. et l. 10. c. 20.

L. 11. ep. 14.

it in the very terms of *Saluſt.* He cenſures his too frequent repetition of the word *hyemare*, and of *Famas* in the plural ſignifying *Fame*, and ſome other expreſſions which were read in *Aruntius*. But nevertheleſs he writes, that in the time of *Saluſt*, obſcure brevity, and cut periods, which left men to gueſs at the ſenſe, paſſed for an Ornament of language; *Saluſtio vigente, amputata ſententia, & verba ante expectatum cadentia, & obſcura brevitas, fuere pro cultu.* But do we not ſee that *Macrobius* many Ages after, under the Authority of one of *Euſebius* his *Entertainments*, makes *Saluſt* reign in the conciſe way of writing; that is, he rendered himſelf ſo conſiderable in it, that no body thereupon could diſpute the firſt rank with him.

l. 5. Satur. c. 1.

Becauſe the word *brevity* is *equivocal*, and many perſons ſpeak of *Tacitus*, and *Saluſt*, as of Authors equally brief; it may be convenient to declare, of what great conſequence it is, not to confound their Stile as agreeing, when they are very different. It cannot be denied that *Tacitus* followed *Saluſt* in a cloſe way of writing, which both uſed; wherein they may be ſaid ſomewhat to reſemble one another. And in this all thoſe agree that have conſidered the Stile of the Ancients; and even *Tacitus* himſelf acknowledges, how much he eſteemed that of *Saluſt*, when he called him *Rerum Romanarum florentiſſimum Auctorem*, which made him imitate him. But it cannot be affirmed that this *Laconick* expreſſion,

l. 3. hiſt.

which

which is common to them both, makes them equal in the reſt, and can make them paſs for as correct Hiſtorians one as the other: for to ſpeak properly, a ſuccinct way of writing does not ſo much contribute to make an exact brief Hiſtorian; as when the matter whereof he writes is ſuch, that nothing can be taken from it, without a prejudice to his Subject, and the ſpoyling of his work. *Tacitus* is admitted to be an Author correct, and brief in his Phraſe, by the impoſſibility there is to cut of the leaſt word of his compoſition, without neceſſarily diminiſhing his thoughts, and doing a notable injury to his narration. But it is not ſo with *Saluſt*, who though he ſtraightens his Stile, puts many things into his Hiſtory, which are not eſſential to it, and may be ſevered from it without diſtracting his deſign, or wronging the conduct of it, according to the obſervation of *Julius Scaliger*. *Lib. 4. de re Poet. Cap. 24.*

We have but parcels of the principal Hiſtory of *Saluſt*, the beginning whereof was at the foundation of *Rome*: but Two intire pieces of his remain, *Catilines conſpiracy*, and the *War againſt Jugurtha*; from whence may be drawn ſufficient proofs of what I have ſaid of him. As for the firſt, though ſmall, it has Two *Prefaces*, whereof that which precedes, and is a moſt excellent Declamation againſt idleneſs, may nevertheleſs be called a true *Saddle for all Horſes*; becauſe, as *Quintilian* well obſerved, it has nothing which relates to his Hiſtory, nor any thing which renders

renders it more proper for this than any other compoſition. It is followed by a *deſcription* of the good and bad conditions of *Cataline* in Three or Four periods. And from thence he paſſes to the Second *Preface*, finding himſelf obliged, as he ſaies, by the immorality of *Cataline*, to deſcribe the virtues of the firſt Romans, and that which made them degenerate in his time. To this end he begins no nearer, than at the foundation of *Rome* by the *Trojans*, when the Fugitive *Æneas* with the reſt, came to diſpute, that part of *Italy* where it is founded, with the *Aborigines*. He afterwards ſhews how it was governed by Kings, who were depoſed for their pride, and how it became great in a ſhort time, by the virtue of the Inhabitants. He inſiſts upon the Wars they waged with the *Carthaginians*, the ſlackning of Diſcipline which happened ſince; and the civil Diſſentions of *Marius* and *Sylla*, which had like to have made the Republick deſolate. All this he relates to come at length to *Catilines* time, the moſt corrupted of all; and which ſeemed to invite that bad Citizen to enterpriſe his conſpiracy. Wherefore methinks, it cannot be properly ſaid, that he who takes occaſion to write, though very well, ſo many things, before he enters upon his chief purpoſe, affects brevity. The *Preface* of the *Jugurthine War* is no nearer to its Subject. It is an Invective againſt thoſe, whom Vice and Riot diverted from imbracing thoſe occupations of the mind, wherewith Nature had ſufficiently endowed

dowed them. He pretends not to be of that number; and therefore judging it in no wiſe convenient, conſidering the corruption of the Age, to intereſs himſelf in the Government of the State, he declares he will endeavour to be uſeful to it, by the imployment he undertakes of writing Hiſtory; and will begin with that of the Wars which the Romans had againſt *Jugurtha*. But we cannot better ſhow, with what liberty he inlarges upon all he thought, might render his work more agreeable, than by the *Digreſſion* of thoſe Two Brothers named the *Philani*, who died ſo glorioufly, for the love of their Country: and that upon the pretext alone of Two *Deputies* of the little *City* of *Leptes*, ſituate between the Two *Syrtes*, who came to *Metellus* after the taking of *Thala*; where he takes occaſion to ſay, that he thinks fit to relate a Notable action, which happened in the ſame Country, of Two *Young Men of Carthage*, who buried themſelves alive to increaſe the Territory of their Nation. And thereupon he makes a curious deſcription of the State differences, and Wars, which the *Cyrenians* heretofore had with the *Carthaginians* concerning their limits, and how they agreed upon a courſe, wherein the Two *Philani*, after an extream diligence, were contented for the good of their Country, to take ſo generous a reſolution. It is certain that the *War of Jugurtha* might have been deſcribed as well without this Digreſſion; and if *Saluſt* had affected to be conciſe in his Hiſtory,

History, he would doubtless have forborne it. Which induces me to affirm, that though his Expression or Phrase was very short, as was that of *Tacitus*, it does not restrain him from being large like *Livy*, in the body of his History, who uses not such confined expressions. And perhaps *Servilius Nonianus* had no other meaning, when he spoke these words mentioned by *Quintilian*, *Viz.* that *Salust* and *Livy* were rather *equal* than *alike*, *pares eos magis esse quam similes*, because both of them handled their Subjects very diffusedly though in different manner.

Lib. 10. Inst. c. 1.

I shall be very sorry if it be thought, that by marking this Digression of *Salust*, I seek to condemn it. It seems to me very agreeable; and I am of the opinion, that no sort of *Episodes* are to be blamed, unless when they are unreasonably used: nor would I be understood to arraign him for what I have related concerning his Phrase and expression, either as too new, or too old, desiring not to be of the number of those that censure a whole work, for a word which displeases them. It is good to avoid as much as one can, that form of speech which is out of use, or which is not enough used: and perhaps *Salust* in the time he writ, was justly reproved upon that account, considering the authority of his Accusers. But we ought not to be too scrupulous in that point, and I desire those that are so nice, that they cannot suffer any thing in language, that grates them never so little, to consider what *Dion Chrysostomus*,

ſtomus, one of the moſt celebrated Oratours of *Greece*, obſerves, when he deſcribes the incomparable Eloquence of *Homer*. He ſaies that he freely uſed all Dialects, and as a Painter mixes his Colours, he agreeably mingled the *Dorick*, *Attick*, and *Ionick Dialects*. He made no difficulty to imploy a ſignificant term, were it never ſo Ancient, and not commonly approved of; and therefore *Dion* compares him to thoſe who have found a Treaſure, and ſell old pieces of Gold and Silver, whoſe worth is eſteemed becauſe of their intrinſick valew, though they are not currant coin. And where he found energy and grace, though in new and barbarous words, he compoſed them, ſaies he, freely in his verſes; as often as there was occaſion to expreſs, the murmure of running Waters, the noiſe of Winds, or ſome ſuch reſemblance. In the mean time (adds this Great *Oratour*) whatever liberty *Homer* took, he is acknowledged to be the moſt eloquent of all Poets, and the Prince of thoſe of his Profeſſion. And we ought to give the like judgment of the Eloquence of Hiſtory or Oratory, as *Dion* does of that of *Homer*; but becauſe I have inſiſted upon it largely enough in another Treatiſe, I ſhall ſay no more of it here. *Orat.* 32.

To return to *Saluſt*, it is no wonder that he was diſcommended for his Stile, ſince *Thucydides*, whom he had propoſed to himſelf for a Rule and Prototype, was not free from cenſure. Yet this did not hinder *Zenobius* a Greek Sophiſter, *Vell. Paterc. in voce Zenobius.*

who

who lived in the time of *Adrian* the Emperour, from taking the pains to tranſlate the Hiſtory of *Saluſt* into Greek, ſo great a reputation it had amongſt thoſe of his Nation, as well as the Romans, as *Suidas* reports. But the judgment of *Seneca* in behalf of our *Hiſtorian*, is very conſiderable, who writes in one of his *Declamations*, that *Saluſt* only equalled by *Quintilian*, to *Thucydides*, ſurpaſſed him in his conciſe way of writing, and as he terms it, *conquered him even in his own fortification*, in the place where he ſeemed to have the greateſt advantage, *cum ſit præcipua in* Thucydide *virtus brevitas, hac eum* Saluſtius *vicit, & in ſuis eum caſtris cecidit.* His reaſon is, becauſe one may take away ſomething from a ſentence of *Thucydides*, impairing a little the Ornament of it, but not utterly ſpoiling it; whereas to do the like to the expreſſions of *Saluſt*, they will be very perceptibly defaced. And *Seneca* complains thereupon of the injuſtice of *Livy* who endeavoured on the contrary to advance *Thucydides* above *Saluſt*. It was not ſaid he, for the great affection he bore *Thucydides* that he prefers him, but becauſe he is not jealous of him, and therefore he does it to get more eaſily the applauſe from *Saluſt*, whom he had ranked below the other.

l. 9. cont. decl. 1.

The Emperour *Adrian* was of another fancy, when he preferred one *Cæcilius* to *Saluſt*, *Cato* to *Cicero*, and *Ennius* to *Virgil*. But *Spartianus*, who took notice of the capricious judgment of this

In Hadr.

Prince,

Prince, ſhows us that of Another as advantagious to our *Hiſtorian*, as this was prejudicial. He writes that *Septimius Severus* at the point of death, feeling himſelf ſubdued by ſickneſs, ſent to his Eldeſt Son that *Divine Oration* (ſo he terms it) which *Saluſt* makes *Micipſa* at his death ſpeak to his *Children*, to exhort them to concord: This Oration is in the beginning of the *Jugurthine War*; and by the credit it received from that *Emperour*, it makes its Author be valued above that contempt of him, which *Adrian* expoſed, and none ever imitated. *In Sev.*

There is an *Oration* that *Cicero* aſcribed to *Saluſt*, which is a counterfeit, and ought not to be admitted as his, for it is not an Hiſtorical work; and all the learned agree, that how Ancient ſoever it may be, and notwithſtanding that it is quoted by *Quintilian*, yet *Saluſt* never was the true Author of it. But there is not a like conſent amongſt the Criticks, in what relates to the *Two Orations*, or rather *Epiſtles* addreſſed to *Ceſar*, probably about the time when he made War in *Spain*, and which treat of the order that might be eſtabliſhed in the Government of the Republick. *Lewis Carrion* cannot be perſwaded that they are of *Saluſt*, eſpecially conſidering that none of the Ancients, who often quoted paſſages of his writings, ever recited any part of theſe Two *Epiſtles*. *John Douza* on the contrary part affirms, that their Stile, and the Faith of all Manuſcripts ought to oblige us, to hold they proceed- *Lib. 4. inſt. cap. 1.*

proceeded from *Salust* his own hand. It is true that none can deny that they are very Ancient, and were writ in the time of the purity of the Latin Language.

It is of much more importance to observe, that from *Salust* may be drawn a certain Testimony, that all judgments of the manners of men by their writings, are not receivable. No one ever spoke better sentences than he, in favour of all sort of Virtues, and chiefly of Chastity; nor used more rigid invectives against the excess and avarice of his time. But notwithstanding this, it is recorded, that his immorality made him be expelled the *Senate* by the Censors: and that being taken in Adultery with *Fausta* the Daughter of *Lucius Scilla*, by *Milo*, he had been sentenced to be shamefully whipped, if he had not by money commuted for the offence; which we learn from *Aulus Gellius*, under the Authority of *Varro*, *Pedianus Servius* and others. He is moreover accused to be immoderate in his desire of riches, joined with great profusion, which is not only objected to him by the *Satyr* of *Leneus* an illustrious Grammarian, and Freeman of *Pompey*, but the *Oration*, which they make *Cicero* speak against him, mentions that he had consumed his Patrimony, and even in his Fathers time, their House was depressed because of his debts. It is true that *Cæsar* restored him to his dignity of *Senatour* and procured him the Prætorship; and having sent him into *Numidia*, furnished him with occasion

Lib. 17. *Noct. Att. cap.* 18.

Suet. de Ill. Gram. cap. 15.

Apud Dionem lib. 42. *&* 43.

caſion to recover his former State and Riches; which laſt he purſued with ſo much Tyranny, that (though after he had ranſacked the whole Province, and found a way to be abſolved by *Cæſar*, he could not eſcape the infamy of his actions, which was ſo much the greater in him, becauſe it was conſidered how ſeverely he had in his Hiſtory, expoſed thoſe who were much leſs guilty than he, and *Metellus* amongſt others, whoſe exceſs and expences in *Spain* he very much arraigned) He returned ſo rich from *Africa*, that he immediatly purchaſed one of the nobleſt dwellings in *Rome*, in the *Mount Quirinal*, with Spacious Gardens, which are at this day called the *Gardens of Saluſt*; and beſides this he had a Country houſe at *Tivoli*, which *Cicero* tells him of in the ſame Oration. His life therefore was very different from his writings; and his Example alone is ſufficient to prove, that as very good men may write very bad Books, ſo vicious men ſometimes may compoſe thoſe that are good; it being not incongruous that an Author ſhould at the ſame time be an excellent Hiſtorian, and a wicked man.

Amongſt the things obſerved in him, and which are moſt conducing to the recommendation of his Hiſtory, is his imbarking purpoſely to take a preciſe view of the places in *Africk*, of which he intended to make a deſcription; becauſe it was requiſite ſo to do, for the better underſtanding of what he writ. And this was the practice of the beſt Hiſtorians; and *Meſſenio's* words in *Plautus*, ſhow

ſufficiently, how important and neceſſary to an Hiſtorian, the Romans thought Voyages, and the ſight of places. That *Servant* ſaies to one of the *Menechmi*, that they had travelled over the world enough, and that it is time to return home, unleſs they have a Hiſtory to write.

Menechmi a Comedy ſo called in Plautus *becauſe of Two of that name ſo called in it.*

——Quin nos hinc domum,
Redimus, niſi ſi hiſtoriam ſcripturi ſumus.

So perſwaded they were at *Rome*, where this was ſaid, that to be a good Hiſtorian, it was expedient to have travelled aforehand, which I think I have already obſerved in the Section of *Polybius*. It is moreover affirmed, that *Saluſt* made proviſion of many books writ in the Punick Tongue, which he cauſed to be very carefully interpreted to him, to make uſe of them likewiſe in his Hiſtorical Treatiſe. But though few are ignorant how much the Ancients eſteemed this Author, as it is before expreſſed, I ſhall nevertheleſs produce the Authority of *Lipſius*, though a Modern Author, to join in his commendation, who made no ſcruple to call him the *Prince of Hiſtorians*. He frankly prefers him to *Cæſar*, *Livy*, and the reſt of thoſe he ſtiles *minorum gentium hiſtoricos*; and praiſes *Cornelius Tacitus* for nothing ſo much, as having excellently imitated *Saluſt*. *Turnebus* alſo averred, that he found ſo much Eloquence in his writings, that in his opinion he approached nearer to *Demoſthenes* than *Cicero*. I have purpoſely paſſed in ſilence, what *Trogus Pompeius* objected againſt the Orations of *Livy* and *Tacitus*, which he made

Præf. in Tac. & not. in l. 1. Pol.

L. 28. adverſ. c. 22. Juſtiniis l. 38.

Direct,

Direct, instead of being Oblique; because though he, and some others are of that opinion, yet it is subject to much debate. *Salust* inserts *Letters* in his writings, without regarding whither that of *Lentulus* to *Cataline*, or that other of *Mithridates* to *Arsaces*, does interrupt the contexture of his Narrations. But though these are little things, yet they deserve to be taken notice of in great Authors, for an example. If *Keckerman*, and some modern Writers, had been touched with such a reasonable consideration, they would not have condemned, as they did, all sort of blame or praise given by an Historian. The reason they give for their opinion is weak, saying that such things are more the business of an Orator; and according to them, a naked Narration leads a Judicious Reader enough, to esteem or disapprove the actions represented: for they observe not, that an Orator and an Historian have many things in common, which makes *Cicero* say some where, that History is the most important part of Oratory, *opus oratorium maxime*. And on the other side the authority of *Salust*, joined with that of *Thucydides*, *Livy*, *Agathias*, and several others (whose writings we read with so much satisfaction, who were either contrary to the persons they speak of, or to the things they report) ought to render them more reserved in their censures.

Lib. 1. de leg.

REFLECTIONS UPON THE *HISTORY* OF JULIUS CÆSAR

THE name of *Julius Cæsar* is so illustrious, that nothing can be added to the commendation of his works, of what nature soever they are, after it is said that he is the Author of them. So that he is not indebted to his military actions alone, for the high reputation that follows him; since his learning has contributed little less to it than his Arms; and he is not less glorious by the Crown he received from the *Muses* upon their *Parnassus*, than his Triumphs by *Bellona*'s side in the Fields of *Mars*. Which made *Quintilian* say, that *Cæsar* spoke writ and fought by the same Spirit, and that the same happy *Genius* which favoured all his victories, animated even his Orations and writings. It is observable, that amongst the praises which the Ancients gave to the Orators of that time; though

L. 10. inf. c. 1. eodem animo dixisse quo bellavit.

though they valued much the sharpness of *Sulpitius*, the gravity of *Brutus*, the diligence of *Pollio*, the judgment of *Calvus*, and the copiousness of *Cicero*, they admired above all the vigour of *Cæsars* Stile, *vim Cæsaris*: as if the same virtue by which he executed so many military exploits, had inspired him with that Ardour and vehemence, by which he was alwaies so eminently distinguished from the rest of that Age. But if it may be fit to enlarge on this subject, and draw new parallels of the learning and valour of this incomparable Prince; it will not be difficult to shew, that *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*, even all the parts of the world then known, divided his Conquests: nor has he less penetrated into the intellectual Globe, having hardly left any Science uncultivated, and not improved to admiration. In his most tender age he composed the *Praise of Hercules*, and wrot the *Tragedy of Oedipus*, and some other Poems under the Title *Juli*, which *Augustus* afterwards did forbid to be published. We cannot affirm, what the Poem called *Iter* was, which *Suetonius* mentions. But as for that Epigram which some ascribe to him, and others to *Germanicus*, made upon the young *Thracian* which fell into the River *Hebrus*, as he played upon the Ice; it is one of the most delicate pieces of all Latin Poetry. Great was his fame in Oratory, as it is before expressed: and his Orations for the *Bithynians* for the *Law Plantia*, for *Decius à Samnite*, for *Sextilius*, and

Ascon. Pedia.

In Cæs. cap. 56.

and many others (which are now wanting) gave a certain Testimony of his excellency therein. At the age of One and Twenty, he solemnly accused *Dolabella*: and being no more then *Quæstor* he composed the funeral Orations of his Aunt *Julia*, and his Wife *Cornelia*; and his two *Anticatones* shewed what he could do in *Satyr*; as his Two other books of *Analogy* gave him no small place amongst the most esteemed *Grammarians*. He wrot some Treatises of presaging by the flight of Birds; and others of *Augury*; and some of *Apothegms* or short and witty sentences. But what he publisht of the motion of the Stars, which he had learned in *Ægypt*, deserves so much the more to be considered, because it Prognosticated his own death on the *Ides* of *March* (if the Elder *Pliny* may be credited) nor must we omit the mention of his reformation of the *Calendar*, which succeeded that work. I pass over the *Ephimerides* or *Journals* mentioned by *Servius*, which he left, to proceed to his *Commentaries*, which are his Historical writings that we now propose to examine, and the only work remaining of so many different pieces, whereof methinks a perfect *Encyclopedie* might be made.

Macr. l. Satur. cap. 14. l. 2. l. 15. c. Æn.

The Title of these Commentaries alone makes it manifest, that *Cæsar* had no design to write a compleat History. They are so naked, saies *Cicero*, and stript of all those ornaments of Oration, which he was very capable to give them; that though they are extreamly agreeable in the condition

In Bruto.

dition they are, they are to be taken for nothing else but Notes prepared by him, for their use who would compile a History of his time. And though materials so well provided might have excited some persons rash enough to attempt any thing, to try their skill to refine and polish them; yet all judicious men have abstained from doing it, and others that perhaps endeavoured in it, have found themselves altogether unable, and unlikely to gain to themselves any Honour, by medling with a design framed by so great an Artificer. His pure and elegant Stile is ordinarily compared to that of *Xenophon*. And though he is brief, nothing that is obscure can be imputed to him; for the places wherein he seems any thing difficult are without doubt corrupted. Since we know that he was so far from falling into the vice of obscurity, that he himself gives it as an important precept, to avoid like a Rock all expressions that are not frequently used, and thereby less proper to explain a thing neatly and clearly. As for the matters whereof he treats in his Commentaries, they are his own actions which he describes, and he recounts few events that he has not seen. Nevertheless *Suetonius* makes *Asinius Pollio* accuse him of not having been exact enough, and even to have swerved sometimes from truth, either through credulity when he relyed on false reports, or wittingly for defect of memory; so that as the said *Asinius* conjectures, if he had lived, he would have reviewed his Commen-

A Gell. l. 1. Noct. Att. c. 10. & Macr. l. 1. Satur. c. 5.

In Cæs. ar. 56.

Commentaries, and corrected them in several places. To say the truth, his report is very different in many things that concern himself, from what we read of him in other Authors, such as *Dion*, and *Plutarch* who have writ on the same subject. An Example of this (to instance no more) may be observed, in what he writes concerning that publick Treasure, which was preserved from the time that *Rome* was taken by the *Gaules*, not to be made use of but in some extream necessity. He pretends that *Lentulus* who had order to send it to *Pompey*, abandoned it by his flight, upon the first Rumour that *Cæsars* Troops began to be masters of *Rome*, though it was a false report. But that which is received for a certain truth in this matter, is, that *Metellus* intending as *Tribune*, to hinder *Cæsar* from seizing on the Treasure, was forced to quit the City, being terrified by the Menaces of *Cæsar*, who made the Gates of the place where that sinew of War and of the State was kept to be forced open, which proved a wonderful advantage to his designs. This shews that it is oftentimes no less difficult to an Historian, than any other writer, to resist the temptations of humanity, and treat as indifferently of the things which concern himself, as those wherein he is no way interessed. For my part I doubt not, but *Cæsar* said many things of the Ancient *Gaules*, which would be contradicted by their Histories, if any of them had been preserved to our time.

Some

Some Criticks have maintained, that neither the Three Books of the *Civil War*, nor the Seven of the *War of the Gaules*, were writ by *Cæsar*, but such an opinion is so groundless that it merits not the least reflection. As for the Eighth book of the last mentioned work, most agree that *Hirtius* was the Author of it, who writ also the *Commentaries* of the *Wars* of *Alexandria*, *Africa*, and *Spain*. Though some ascribe them to *Oppius* an intimate friend of *Cæsars*, who likewise wrot a Treatise, to prove that the Son of *Cleopatra*, which she pretended to have had by the same *Cæsar*, was not of his begetting. Whosoever was the Author of the last book of the War of the *Gaules*, appeared to have been much in the favour and confidence of *Cæsar*, for he saies in one place, that though all that read the writings of *Cæsar* admire them as well as he, yet he had more reason to do it than others, because they consider in them only the purity of Phrase, and excellency of Stile; but he who knew with what facility and expedition he used his Pen, had a more particular subject of admiration. This passage calls to my memory the noble Elogy which *Pliny* gave him (*viz.*) to have surpassed in vigor of mind all the rest of Mankind. He writ that he has been seen at the same time to read, write, dictate, and hear what was said to him; and adds that he made nothing at once to dictate to Four Secretaries; and when he was not diverted by other affairs, he usually imploied Seven

Fr. Floridus Sabinus, et Lud. Carrio.

L. 7. Nat. hist. c. 25.

to

to write under him. This activity of thought is as if he were ſomething more than human, and indeed the greatneſs of his genius would be judged wholely incomparable, ſhould we examine it exactly in the extent of all his actions: but this being not the proper place for ſuch an inquiry, we ſhall confine our ſelf to what particularly concerns his Commentaries.

They are deſtitute of many Rhetorical Ornaments, as we have already obſerved, yet they contain both Oblique and Direct Orations: and they have been ſo valued by all Nations, that they are tranſlated into moſt languages. *Selimus* the Great cauſed them to be turned into *Arabick*. And it is held that the reading of them, which was no leſs agreeable than ordinary with him, contributed much to the conqueſt of ſo many Provinces, wherewith he augmented his Empire. And *Henry the Fourth* that famous Monarch of *France*, took the pains to tranſlate into *French* thoſe that related to the War of the *Gaules*; which doubtleſs were no ſmall aſſiſtance to that Heroick Ardour, wherewith his whole life was animated. It was under *Florence Chriſtian* his Tutor, that he undertook that work ſo worthy of himſelf. And *Caſaubon* who affirms that he ſaw it writ by the *Kings* own hand, adds, that he told him he was recollecting his matter, to write Commentaries of his own actions, which he would finiſh as ſoon as his leaſure would permit. But God was not pleaſed to allow him that leaſure, and his haſty death,

by

by a crime more detestable than was that of the Murtherers of *Cæsar*, has deprived us of those *Second Commentaries*, which might have made a greater resemblance between these Two Princes, than there is; though the clemency, valour, diligence, and several other virtues wherein they both excelled, rendered them very conformable to each other, not to mention the resemblance of their ends.

REFLEC-

REFLECTIONS UPON THE *HISTORY* OF TITUS LIVIUS.

SOME persons have given the same Elogy to *Livy*, as *Seneca* the Rhetorician ascribed to *Cicero* (*viz.*) to have had a wit answerable to the greatness of the Roman Empire. And others have not been content to equal the eloquence of this Historian to that of so great an Orator, but have proceeded so far, as to suppose that if *Cicero* had attempted to write a History, he would have been inferiour to him in the performance of it. But without reflecting on either to their disadvantage by such comparisons, we may say that they both excelled in their way of study; and as never any one was heard with so much attention and transport at *Rome* as *Cicero*, so we have no example of a reputation higher and more glorious in respect of History than that of *Livy*. *Pliny* the Younger has left us a memorable passage

paſſage of his fame in one of his Epiſtles. Where he ſaies that his Predeceſſors ſaw a man come into *Italy* from the extremities of *Spain* (which was then counted the remoteſt place of the Earth in the Weſt) to have the ſatisfaction to ſee *Livy*, and injoy for ſome time his converſation, who ſought no other diverſion than the diſcourſe he had with ſo great a perſon; and though the Capital City of the world where he found him had many rarities to entertain his curioſity, nothing thereof could detain him, after he had converſed ſome time with him for whoſe ſake he undertook ſuch a journey. But we muſt obſerve that the credit *Livy* has amongſt the learned, is not only for the writing of this Hiſtory, for he had writ certain *Philoſophical Dialogues* before he came to *Rome*, which he dedicated to *Auguſtus Caſar*. and which acquired him the love and protection of that renowned Monarch, the moſt favourable to the *Muſes* that ever governed the Roman Empire. And beſides theſe *Dialogues* which are mentioned by *Seneca*, we learn from *Quintilian*, that in a *Letter* to his *Son* he delivered excellent Precepts of *Rhetorick*, wherein he eſpecially commended to his reading the writings of *Demoſthenes*, and *Cicero*, bidding him neglect many other Authors, unleſs any were found amongſt them, to reſemble thoſe which he adviſed him to have alwaies in his view. And one may read in *Suetonius*, that *Livy* was choſen amongſt the moſt learned men of his Age, to take care of the inſtruction

Ep. 101.
Lib. 10. *inſt. cap.* 1.
In Claud. cap. 41.

instruction of *Claudius* who afterwards was Emperor; and in his younger years by the advice of this his *Tutor*, as *Suetonius* reports, he undertook to write the Roman History, of which he gave many volumes to the Publick which are lost to us. As to the writings of *Livy* the last and most considerable thereof, is the History which reached from the foundation of *Rome* to the death of *Drusus* in *Germany*; the fine contexture whereof, the agreeable narrations, and the pleasing easiness makes him to be compared to *Herodotus*, and placed in the first rank of the Latin Historians. It was not at first divided by *Decades*, as we now see it. That is a recent distribution or distinction, whereof no mention appears in *Florus* his Abbreviator, nor in any of the Ancients; and which *Politian*, *Petrarch*, with *Petrus Crinitus* have already disputed. Of the Hundred and Forty, or Hundred and Two and Forty Books which it contained, there remain not above Five and Thirty, nor are they all in an uninterrupted continuation, for the whole Second *Decade* is wanting, and we have but the First, the Third, and the Fourth, with half of the Fifth which was found at *Wormes* by one *Simon Grynæus*. The beginning of the Forty Third book has been also lately recovered, by the means of a Manuscript in the Library of the *Chapter* of *Bamberg*; but this fragment is a little contested. *Franciscus Bartholinus* that brought it from *Germany* into *Italy*, *Antonius Quarengus*, and *Gaspar Lusignanus* the

Suetonius in Claud. loco citato.

Quint. l. 10. inst. c. 1.

Ep. ad. Jo. Boc. l. 7. de hon. disc. c. 12.

Author

Author of the first impression, judge it Authentick. But *Vossius* and some others on the contrary, pretend that it is a counterfeit piece, and can be only imposed on those who have ears like *Midas*. For the remaining Fourteen *Decades* we must rest satisfied, with that *Summary* or *Epitomy* which *Florus* compiled, if he was the Author of a work which many persons condemn, believing him to have been the cause of the loss of *Livy's* writings, a loss that cannot be enough lamented. This is the opinion of *Bodin* who likewise accuses *Justin*, for having done the same prejudice to *Trogus Pompeius*, *Xiphilinus*, and *Dion*, in epitomizing them. *Casaubon* is also of this mind, who thinks that the brief collection made by *Constantine*, of a body of History in Fifty Three parts, occasioned the neglect of the Authors that composed it, which were afterwards lost. But if the Three Decades and a half which we have of *Livy*, make us deplore the want of the rest, they are yet sufficient to represent him to our esteem, most worthy of the Elogies which he received from the Ancients. The most celebrated whereof was that yielded to him, two hundred years ago by *Alphonso* King of *Arragon*, when he sent his Embassador to demand of the Citizens of *Padua*, and obtained from them as a pretious relique, the bone of that Arm wherewith this their famous Country-man had writ his History, causing it to be conveyed to *Naples* with all sorts of honour, as the most estimable present

L. 9. c. 19. de hist. lat.

In Meth. hist. c. 2.

Anno 1451.

ſent could be made him. And it is ſaid that he recovered his health from a languiſhing indiſpoſition, by the delight he had in reading the ſame Hiſtory.

But it is ſtrange to conſider with how much paſſion others went about to defame if they could, a perſon of ſuch rare merit. In the Age wherein he lived *Aſinius Pollio* arraigned his Stile, which he called *Patavinity*. *Auguſtus* taxed him of having favoured *Pompey*'s party, but did not therefore diminiſh his good will towards him. And *Caligula* a while after, accuſed him of negligence on the one ſide, and too exceſſive redundancy of words on the other, taking away his image and writings from all Libraries, where he knew they were curiouſly preſerved. But the capricious and Tyrannick humour of this Prince, was exerciſed in the ſame manner towards the works and Statues of *Virgil*. And he would have ſuppreſſed the Verſes of *Homer*, pretending that his power ought to be no leſs than *Plato*'s who had prohibited the reading them in his *Imaginary Republick*. Moreover hating *Seneca*, and all men of eminent Virtue, it came into his head to aboliſh the knowledg of Laws, with all thoſe Lawyers whoſe learned deciſions were reſpected. But the humorous conceit of ſuch a Monſter cannot prejudice *Livy*, nor thoſe others we named, no more than that of *Domitian* a ſecond prodigy of Nature, who put to death, through a like animoſity, *Metius Pompoſianus*, becauſe amongſt others he delighted

Suet. in Calig. cap. 34. et in Domit. c. 10.

to

to expose some Orations of Kings and Generals, collected by him out of *Livy*'s History. The Testimony of *Augustus* is full of moderation, he declares that the same History instead of flattering the victorious Party, could not condemn that of the good and most honest men in the Common-wealth, who had all listed themselves on *Pompey*'s side, which rather tends to the commendation of *Livy* than otherwise. But that which *Pollio* finds fault with in all his observations, is a thing which deserves to be a little more reflected on.

The most common opinion is, that this Roman Lord accustomed to the delicacy of the language spoke in the Court of *Augustus*, could not bear with certain *Provincial Idioms*, which *Livy* as a *Paduan* used in divers places of his history. *Pignorius* is of another mind, and believes that this odious *Patavinity* had respect only to the Orthography of certain words, wherein *Livy* used one letter for another, according to the custome of his Country, writing *sibe*, and *quase*, for *sibi*, and *quasi*; which he proves by divers Ancient inscriptions. Some think that it consisted meerly in a repetition, or rather multiplicity of many Synonymous words in one period, contrary to what was practised at *Rome*, where they did not affect such a redundancy which denoted a Forreigner. Others report that the *Paduans* having alwaies been of *Pompey*'s Party, which was apparently the justest as we have observed, *Pollio*

that was a *Cæsarian*, derided *Livy's Patavinity*, and accused him of having shown too great an inclination for the unhappy faction of the vanquished; which seems so much the likelier, by the conformity it has with that opinion of *Augustus*, which we already mentioned. There are those who likewise affirm, that *Livy's* partiality for those of *Padua*, appeared manifestly in those books which are lost, where he was led by his Subject to an immoderate praise of his Country-men. It is the same fault which *Polybius* imputed to *Philinus* as a *Carthaginian*, and *Fabius* as a *Roman*. And many modern Historians have been charged therewith, whereof *Guicciardin* was one, who to oblige the *Florentines* dwells so long upon the least concerns of their State, and amplifies so much their smallest actions, that he often becomes troublesome, and sometimes ridiculous in many mens judgment. The quaint *Distich* of *Aelius Syncerus*, against that of *Poggius* on the like occasion, renders it altogether despicable,

Dum patriam laudat, damnat dum Poggius hostem;
Nec malus est civis, nec bonus historicus.

They who rather imagine than prove a like passion in *Livy*, please themselves with a belief, that this was that which *Pollio* found fault with in his History, when he was offended that it had too much *Patavinity*. I rather build upon that sense which *Quintilian* gives the word, who in all probability knew in his time the true signification of it. He quotes it in the Chapter of the virtues

Lib. 1 Inst. cap. 5.

and

and vices of Oration, where he remarks, that *Vellius* was reproached of having imployed too many *Sabine*, *Tuscan*, and *Praenestine* words in his writings; so that, saies he, *Lucilius* thereupon laughed at his language, as *Pollio* did at the *Patavinity* of *Livy*. Wherefore after an interpretation so express, of such a considerable Author in this respect as *Quintilian*, I should be loath to wrest the signification of that word, which the Courtiers of *Rome* reproved in the History we speak of, to any other sense than that of Stile and Phrase.

Justin informs us, that *Trogus Pompeius* censured *Livy*'s Orations for being Direct, and too long; which many attribute to some jealousy, that might arise between Two Authors of the same time and profession, *Quintilian* observed that *Livy* begins his History with an *Hexameter Verse*: and *Mascardi* in the Fifth Treatise of his *Art of History*, rehearses many others which he found there; but there is no prose where some do not occur, if looked after with too much curiosity. The same *Mascardi* taxes him in another place, of having been defective in many important circumstances, which we read in *Appian*, and which he ought not to have omitted. I have already shown in a precedent Section, how *Seneca* the Rhetorician accuses *Livy*, of having suffered himself to be swayed by envy, when he gave *Thucydides* the preference to *Salust*. I here add in opposition to *Vossius* his opinion, that

Lib. 9. inst. cap. 4.

Cap. 6.

Tr. 1. c. 4.

L. 9. const. decl. 1.

Lib. 1. de Ira. cult.

although *Seneca* the *Philosopher* conferred the Title of most Eloquent upon *Livy*, he does likewise reprove him in the same place, for having attributed to any man greatness of wit without goodness, believing them to be inseparable Qualities. And in another place on the subject of the *Great Library of Alexandria*, he blames him for commending the care of those Kings who founded it; and yet pretending, that they did it rather in a vain ostentation of glory, than a true affection for books. But such *Stoical* Austerities do not much wound the reputation of an Historian, who speaks according to the common sense of things, and is not obliged to follow all the opinions of Philosophers. But if *Antoninus* his *Itinerary*, such as *Annius* of *Viterbum* exposed was true, it would be a hard matter to excuse *Livy* of a great fault which he accuses him of, in speaking of *Fanus Volturna*, which was his suppressing of the most gallant actions of the *Tuscans*, whereof he envyed them the glory. But it is of importance to know, that the impudent supposition of *Annius* in this respect, appears manifestly in the good editions of that *Itinerary*, which we have from *Simler*, and *Surita*, wherein nothing like that is read, because it is a slanderous addition of the *Impostour*, who foisted in this corrupt relation with that Comment, whereof we have so often complained already. But I find it a harder task to answer the zeal of *Gregory* the *Great*, who would not suffer *Livy's* Works in any Christian Library,

Lib. de tranq. c. 9.

Vide Vossium de Hist. Lat. pag. 93. cap. 19.

Library, because of his Pagan Superstition; which I remember I read in the *Preface* of *Casaubon* upon *Polybius*. And indeed it cannot be denyed that his History is filled with many Prodigies, which denote a great adherence to Idolatry. Sometimes an Ox spoke; one while a Mule ingendered; another time Men, Women, and Cocks, and Hens changed their Sex. There are often showers of Flint-stones, Flesh, Chalk, Blood, and Milk. and the Statues of the Gods be mentioned to speak, shed tears, and swet pure blood. How many Ghosts are made to appear; Armies ready to ingage in Heaven; with Lakes and Rivers of Blood; and the like? So that no Historian ever reported so much of the vulgar's vain belief of that time, as he. But we should condemn almost all the books of the *Gentils*, if our Religion received any prejudice from such trifles. One might moreover represent to *Pope Gregory*, that *Livy* exposes all those and some others of the same nature, no otherwise than as fond opinions of the vulgar, and uncertain rumours which he derides; often protesting, that although he is obliged to report them; because they made such an important impression upon the minds of most men of that time, and had a mighty influence on the greatest affairs, yet there was nothing therein but vanity and imposture. *Dec. 1. l. 5. et dec. 2. lib. 1. et 4.*

Some modern Authors have been found, such as *Bodin*, *Benius*, and others like them, who presumed to censure *Livy*'s Stile for being too Poe- *Lib. 2. de conset. hist. Jul. Scal. l. 1. poet. c. 2.*

tical in some places, too prolix in others, and often unlike it self. But these are rash judgments, and worthier of pitty than consideration, chiefly in respect to those that give them. Yet the like cannot be said of *Budæus*, and *Henricus Glareanus*, that accuse him of injustice to the *Gaules* in all his narrations, where he treats of them and their Wars. I know they who have indeavoured to defend him from this imputation, reply in his behalf, that if the powerful consideration of *Augustus* his Protector, could not hinder him from speaking honourably, not only of *Pompey*, but even of *Cassius*, and *Brutus*, as *Cremutius Cordus* testifies in *Tacitus*, it is improbable that he should refrain from saying the truth in what concerned the *Gaules*, out of a particular Animosity, to render himself more acceptable to the Romans. But it is certain, he was borne away herein with the common tide of opinion, and that there was no Latin Historian of that time, who did not as well as he use all Nations ill, to oblige the *Italian*, either through flattery or ignorance, taking their relations from the reports of the victorious, who suppressed all the memorials of others.

Lib 4. annal.

† *Priori nomine Patavium appellata.*

* *Vicus ad Euganeos colles in Italiâ prope Patavium.*

So general a fault nevertheless, ought not to hinder us from esteeming *Livy* in particular, as one of the first men of his Country. He was of † *Padua*, and not of * *Aponus*, as *Sigonius* imagined, because of a verse in *Martial* which puts one place for another, by a figure ordinary enough

to

to Poets. His residence at *Rome*, and the favour of *Augustus*, afforded him the means to have all the instructions necessary for the compiling of his History. He composed one part of it in that *Capital* of the Empire, and the other at *Naples* whither he retired from time to time to digest his matter with less disturbance. After that Emperors death he returned to the place of his Birth, where he was received with unparalell'd honours, and applauses by the *Paduans*, and there he dyed in the Fourth year of the Reign of *Tiberius*, and the very day of the *Calends* of *January*, which was also *Ovids* last day, according to the observation of *Eusebius* in his *Chronicles*. His life was lately delivered unto us by *Jacobus Philippus Thomasinus* the *Paduan Bishop*, who omitted nothing that a *Paduan* could say, to the advantage of One whom he considers as the glory of his Country. He mingled in all places of his History Oblique and Direct Orations, wherein his Eloquence principally appears. And he did not refrain from Digressions, though he excuses himself for it, in the Ninth Book of his first Decade, on the Subject of *Alexander*, whose renown, he saies, obliged him to reflect upon the probable success he might have had against the *Romans*, if he had attacked them. He makes a question of equalling Ten or Twelve Roman Captains to that invincible Monarch, but manages it with so much disadvantage on one side, and so much flattery on the other, that it is the place in his whole History,

which

which is the leaſt agreeable to a judicious Reader. Is it not ridiculous to ſay upon ſo ſerious a Subject, that the *Senate* of *Rome* was compoſed of as many Kings, as there were Senators? And ought he not to have conſidered, that *Alexander* led Twenty Generals under his command, *Ptolemæus*, *Lyſimachus*, *Caſſander*, *Leonatus*, *Philotas*, *Antigonus*, *Eumenes*, *Parmenio*, *Cleander*, *Polyperchon*, *Perdiccas*, *Clitus*, *Epheſtion*, and others like them, more renowned and experienced in military affairs, if we may judge by their actions, than all thoſe Roman Chiefs which he pretends to compare to him? To ſay the truth, that his Digreſſion examined in all its parts, is more worthy of a declamer, than of an Hiſtorian of *Livy*'s reputation.

REFLEC-

REFLECTIONS

UPON THE

HISTORY

OF

VELLEIUS PATERCULUS.

THOUGH *Velleius Paterculus* in the Two Books he compoſed, pretended only to write an Epitomy of the Roman Hiſtory, from the Foundation of *Rome* to the time wherein he lived, which as he himſelf reports, was in the Reign of the Emperour *Tiberius*. Yet he began his Treatiſe with things more Ancient, for though the beginning of his firſt Book is loſt, we nevertheleſs find, in the remains of it, the Antiquities of many Cities more Ancient than *Rome*, the Originals whereof he diſcovers, before he deſcribes the Foundation of that great *Metropolis*. He was of an illuſtrious extraction as appears by thoſe of his family, who had ſignaliſed themſelves in the exerciſe of many of the greateſt imployments of the Roman Empire. And he himſelf having gloriouſly ſucceeded in the military

Vide Voſſium de ſcriptoribus latinis. Lib. 2.

tary profeſſion, ſaies that the remembrance of the countries he had ſeen, during the time he commanded in the Armies, and in his voyages through the Provinces of *Thrace*, *Macedonia*, *Achaia*, *Aſia* the leſs, and other more Eaſterly Regions, eſpecially thoſe upon both the ſhores of the *Euxin* Sea, furniſhed his mind with moſt agreeable diverſions. Whereby one may judge that if he had writ this Hiſtory as intire and large, as he ſometimes promiſed, we ſhould have found many things very conſiderable in it, as reported by a man who was ſo Eminent an Eye-witneſs, and had a ſhare in the execution of the nobleſt part of them. In that little which is left, wherein he repreſents all compendiouſly, divers particulars are related that are no where elſe to be found; which happens either by the ſilence of other Hiſtorians in thoſe matters, or the ordinary loſs of part of their labours.

The Stile of *Velleius Paterculus* is very worthy of his Age, which was alſo the time of pure language. His greateſt excellence lies in diſcommending or praiſing thoſe he ſpeaks of; which he does in the ſofteſt terms and moſt delicate expreſſions, that are ſeen in any other Hiſtorian or Oratour. But he is blamed, and perhaps with reaſon, for flattering too much the Party and Houſe of *Auguſtus*, and making extravagant Elogies not only of *Tiberius*, but even of his Favourite *Sejanus*, whoſe merit he celebrates as of one of the prime and moſt virtuous perſons, which the

the Roman Common wealth has produced. But the like fault may be obſerved in many others that have writ the Hiſtory of their own times, with a deſign to publiſh it whilſt they lived. However it was, *Lipſius* imagined that thoſe his exceſſive praiſes of *Sejanus*, were the cauſe of his fall, and the ruine of the reſt of that unhappy Favourites friends, who were almoſt all put to death upon his account; but yet this opinion can paſs for nothing but a meer conjecture, ſince it is no where elſe to be ſeen. The nature of his Epitomy did not (it ſeems) admit of Orations. Yet an Oblique one is ſeen in his ſecond Book, which he introduces the Son of *Tigranes* to ſpeak before *Pompey*, to procure his favour. I find beſides a very remarkable thing in his Stile, to wit, that amongſt all the Figures of Oratory which he uſes, he imploies the *Epiphonema* ſo gracefully, that perhaps no One ever equalled him in that reſpect. So that in all or moſt of the events which he mentions, there are few that he does not conclude with one of theſe ſententious reflections, which Rhetoricians call by that name. And beſides the beauty of that figure when it is judiciouſly imployed, as he knew how to do it, there is nothing inſtructs a reader more uſefully, than that ſort of Corollary applyed to the end of the chief actions of every narration. He ſhewed his great inclination to Eloquence, in his invective againſt *Mark Anthony*, on the Subject of his proſcription, and the death of

of *Cicero*, whom none ever raiſed higher than he does in that place, and in another of the ſame book, where he acknowledges that without ſuch a perſon, *Greece* though overcome in Arms, might have boaſted to have been victorious in wit. And this he did in purſuance of that zeal, which made him declare in his firſt book, that excepting thoſe whom this Oratour ſaw, or by whom he was ſeen and heard, there was none amongſt the Romans who ought to be admired for their Eloquence, which was a faculty as to the excelling part, as it were incloſed only in the ſpace of *Cicero*'s life.

Beſides the Two Books of the abridged Hiſtory of *Velleius Paterculus*, a Fragment has been ſeen which is aſcribed to him, touching the defeat of ſome Roman Legions in the Country of the *Griſons*. And of that part amongſt others where this ſmall writing places a City called *Cicera*, it informs us, that of a Legion there ingaged, *Verres* alone eſcaped, whom the above mentioned *Cicero* cauſed afterwards to be condemned with infamy, for having during his Proconſulſhip in *Sicily*, uſed ſuch extortions in ſo important a Province, that they had like to have made it deſolate. But moſt learned men, & *Velſerus* with *Voſſius* amongſt the reſt, declaim againſt this piece, which they affirm to be counterfeit as well by the Stile, which ſeems of an Age much inferiour to that of *Paterculus*, as by the matter whereof it treats, wherein they find great abſurdities. But laying aſide

Civitatem non muro, ſed vallo foſſaque &c. quam appellabant Cicera, è nomine deæ Ciſæ, quam religioſiſſimè colebant. Wolfangus Lazius. Lib. 1. de frag. Velleii.

aſide the doubtful judgment of Criticks, it is evident in reſpect of the true Phraſe of this Author, that excepting the faults which proceed rather from his tranſcribers than himſelf, and the Copies than the Original, we have nothing more pure in all the Latin Language than his Writings; nor more worthy of the times of *Auguſtus* and *Tiberius*.

REFLEC-

REFLECTIONS
UPON THE
HISTORY
OF
QUINTUS CURTIUS
RUFUS.

ALEXANDER has no reaſon to complain (as once he did) for not having like *Achilles*, a *Homer* to celebrate his praiſes, ſeeing there was found amongſt the Latins, ſo eminent an Hiſtorian as *Quintus Curtius* to deſcribe the actions of his life. I take him to be one of the greateſt Authors they had; and the excellency of his Stile would oblige me to think him more Ancient than *Livy*, and *Paterculus*, and to make him paſs for him of whom *Cicero* ſpeaks in one of his *Epiſtles*, if the more common opinion of thoſe who have laboured in the ſearch of his Age, did not yeild him *Veſpaſian*'s Contemporary; and ſome to have lived in the Reign of *Trajan*. I will not inſiſt upon the paſſages

lib. 3. ad Q. fr. ep. 2.

paſſages of his fourth book where he ſpeaks of *Tyre*, nor on that of the Tenth where he makes a Digreſſion upon the felicity of his Age, becauſe many are ſubject to wreſt thoſe expreſſions to their own ſenſe. But as he lived to a great Age, he may well be the ſame perſon that *Suetonius* mentioned, as a great Rhetorician in the time of *Tiberius*; and *Tacitus* as a *Prætor* and Proconſul of *Africa* under that Empetour, for there is not above Two and Thirty years from the laſt year of *Tiberius* to the firſt of *Veſpaſian*. And what the *Younger Pliny* reports of a *Phantaſm* which appeared in *Africa* to one *Curtius Rufus*, can be underſtood of no other than him that was mentioned by *Tacitus* as aforeſaid.

Lib. 11. Ann.

Lib. 7. ep. 27. ad Suram.

But it is of little moment to my deſign, to reconcile the diverſity of opinions on this ſubject, which are collected together in *Voſſius*, and *Raderus* a Commentator of *Quintus Curtius*. He is perhaps a Son only of thoſe whom *Cicero* or *Suetonius* mentions, and may have nothing in common with any of the other that we named, eſpecially conſidering that neither *Quintilian*, nor any of the Ancients, have ſaid the leaſt word of him or his Hiſtory, which is very ſtrange: for how *Quintilian*, who omitted not to mention all the conſiderable Hiſtorians then extant, in the Tenth Book of his *Inſtitutions*, writ in *Domitians* Reign, could forget him, is not to be anſwered, without preſuppoſing that the works of *Quintus Curtius* were not at that time publiſhed.

The

The ordinary impreſſions of this Author witneſs, that his Two Firſt Books, and the end of the Fifth are loſt, as alſo the beginning of the Sixth, and in ſome few places of the laſt which is the Tenth, there manifeſtly appears a defect. It was not *Quintianus Stoa*, but *Chriſtopher Bruno* that ſupplied the Two firſt Books, which he did out of what *Arrianus*, *Diodorus*, *Juſtin*, and ſome others left us in writing of the Atchievements of *Alexander* the Great. *Quintus Curtius* did well to abſtain from the relations of the counterfeit *Calliſthenes* (the true one cited by *Plutarch* being not to be found) which make One *Nectanebus* a *Magician* to be the Father of that Monarch, inſtead of *Philip* of *Macedon*, and repreſent him rather as a *Roland*, or *Amadis* of *Gaule* than a true Conqueror. *Henry Glarean* is not followed by any, in his diſtribution of *Quintus Curtius* his Hiſtory into Twelve Books, re-eſtabliſhing the Two firſt, and dividing the reſt into Ten others, inſtead of the ordinary Eight. But in what manner ſoever his Hiſtory is diſpoſed, it will be alwaies found worthy of its Subject; and to him alone can that Elogy be applyed, which one *Amyntianus* inſolently and undeſervedly arrogated to himſelf (*Viz.*) that he had in ſome ſort equalled by his Stile the noble actions of *Alexander*. As Cenſurers are every where found, it is not to be ſuppoſed that *Curtius* will eſcape them. The ſame *Glarean* whom I mentioned before, reproves him for having like an ill Geographer, made the

Apud Photium ſect. 131.

the *River Ganges* proceed from the South; and confounded *Mount Taurus* with *Caucasus*, and also mistook the *Jaxartes* of *Pliny* for the *River Tanais*. But one may answer in his behalf that these errors (if they are such) are not his, who as a Latin Author did no more than follow the Grecian Relators, from whom he borrowed his History. *Strabo* observed in the Fifteenth Book of his *Geography*, that the *Macedonians* called that, *Caucasus*, which was but part of the *Mount Taurus*; because the former furnished them with more fabulous matter than the latter, as that wherewith they delighted to flatter the ambition of *Alexander*, and their own also. And as for the course of the *Ganges*, although it is true that generally speaking it descends from the North to the South, yet *Strabo* adds that it finds such opposition as obliges it many times to hold different courses, and that at length it conveighs all its waters to the East. But *Mascardi* makes other objections, he thinks him excessive in the use of Sentences; and though he cannot but confess that all his are very elegant and ingenious, yet he accuses him for not having alwaies imploied them judiciously, making some persons speak in a Phrase no way proportionable to their conditions; and he instances in that Oration of the *Scythians* to *Alexander* in the Seventh Book. I have read it over and over by reason of this imputation, but with far different Eies from those of *Mascardi*; and I can scarce believe that it is a

Tr. 5. dell' arte hist. c. 2. ep. 3.

piece contrived by the Author, for I find all matter and Stile, so fitly suited to the persons of the *Scythian* Ambassadors that pronounced it, both in respect of the Sentences, and all the rest of its parts, that it passes in my judgment for a Copy taken from the true Original of *Ptolemaus*, *Aristobulus*, *Callisthenes*, *Onesicritus*, or some other of those present with *Alexander* at the time it was spoke, who had the curiosity to insert it in the History of that Monarch. I insist not on that part which is so well accommodated to the present made by those *Barbarians*, of a pair of Oxen, a Plough, a Cup, and an Arrow. The Greek Proverb of the solitary places of their Country is admirably applyed. And the *Scythian* description of Fortune without feet, whose flight cannot be stopped, although you have hold of her hands, seems unexpressibly graceful in their mouths. But though all these things do suit wonderfully well with the persons that utter them, I find the greatest harmony in the manner of imploying those Sentences which *Mascardi* arraigns; and if ever the *Decorum* of the *Latins* was considered, or those rules observed which their Rhetoricians authorised, I think one may say that *Quintus Curtius* has on this occasion most religiously kept them.

They who know with what liberty the *Scythians* and *Tartarians* use Fables in all their discourses, and that they, like the rest of the Eastern People, scarce say any thing without intermix-

ing

ing parables therewith, will admire the judgment of *Curtius* in the moſt ſententious part of that Oration, which his Cenſurer found ſo much fault with. Are you ignorant (ſay thoſe Ambaſſadors to *Alexander*) that the talleſt Trees which are ſo long growing, may be beat down and rooted up in an inſtant? It is not the part of a wiſe man to mind only the fruit they bear, and not to conſider their height, and their danger of falling. Take heed leſt endeavouring to climbe up to the top, their uttermoſt branches do not break, and make you fall with them. The Lion be it never ſo great and fierce, ſometimes ſerves for nouriſhment to the leaſt Birds; and Iron for all its hardneſs is often conſumed with ruſt. Nor is there any thing ſo ſolid or ſtrong in Nature, that may not be hurt by the weakeſt things, and which have in appearance the leaſt vigour. Certainly here are many Elegant expreſſions, which inſtead of being condemned for unſeemlineſs, as ſpoken by *Scythians*, ought rather to be eſteemed in a more than ordinary manner, for the Air they have of their Country, and that unuſual way of expreſſion, which almoſt totally differs from that of the Greeks or Latins. If I had a mind to cenſure this Hiſtory, as well as Others, I would not find fault with its Geography, or Rhetorick; I ſhould rather accuſe *Quintus Curtius* for his Immorality, wherein he can be no way juſtified. For after he had acknowledged in more than one place, that *Alexander* made the ſame uſe of the

Lib. 6. & Lib. 10.

Eunuch Bagoas, as *Darius* did, which made him have ſo great a power over his affections (not to ſpeak of *Epheſtion*, whoſe friendſhip he does not render ſo ſhameful or criminal as others have done) he had the confidence afterwards to affirm, that the pleaſures of *Alexander* were natural and lawful. The place I mean, is where he firſt repreſents the death of that Prince, and then examins his virtues and vices, uſing theſe very terms, *veneris juxta naturale deſiderium uſus, nec nulla niſi ex permiſſo voluptas.* How! this infamous paſſion he had for *Bagoas* was not then eſteemed againſt Nature? I know not, ſince long before, notwithſtanding the darkneſs of *Paganiſm*, *Phocylides* had obſerved in one of his verſes, that even Brutes naturally abhorred that ſort of conjunction. And *Plato* how infamous ſoever in that reſpect, acknowledged in the Eighth Book of his *Laws*, that even before the time of *Laius*, that Example of Beaſts, made maſculine love be ſtiled a ſin againſt nature. Certainly *Quintus Curtius* his fault herein cannot be palliated, what licence ſoever may be aſcribed to the *Gentils*, both *Greeks* and *Romans*, on this Subject.

I will not repeat in this place what I ſaid in the Section of *Arrian*, of ſome ſmall errours of *Quintus Curtius*, which are amended by the writings of the former, or rather by the mutual aſſiſtance which theſe Two Authors give one to the other to be rendered more intelligible. But I will obſerve, that notwithſtanding the praiſe

we

we attributed to the *Grecian*, of having been one of the most tender writers in matter of prodigies, he whom we now examine is much more reserved therein than he, of which there needs no more proof, than what they both writ of one or two extraordinary Springs, which newly sprung up from the ground where *Alexander* had Incamped, near the *River Oxus*. *Arrian* saies that one of them was of Oil, and the other of clear Water, which he confidently reports, as if he would impose a belief thereof on his Readers. *Quintus Curtius* on the other hand, saies nothing of the Source of Oil, but that in digging of Wells a Spring was found in the Kings Tent, of which as soon as it was discovered, a rumour ran as if it had been miraculous; and *Alexander* himself so far improved it, as to be pleased that it should be thought a grace of Heaven, bestowed on him by the Gods. But to shew clearly, with what circumspection this Historian alwaies handled things which admitted of doubt, I will instance the terms wherewith he accompanies the narration he writes of a Dog in the Kingdom of *Sopita*, that fastened on a Lyon with so much courage, that he suffered his members to be cut piece-meal, rather then lose the hold he had taken. *Equidem*, saies he, *plura transcribo, quam credo. Nam nec affirmare sustineo de quibus dubito, nec subducere quæ accepi.* And this moderation may be applied to that place of the same book, where on the occasion of *Ptolomy*'s sickness, a Serpent shewed to *Alexander*

Lib. 7.

Lib. 9. But this fierceness so admired and doubted by Curtius, is not strange to us, that see the like courage in our Mastifs on all occasions.

in his sleep, an Herb which would cure him. Truly when an Author is so modest in his relation, that he appears not to have any design to invade the credulity of his Readers, he may write what he pleases, as we have already remonstrated in the Chapter of *Livy*.

Amongst all the Latin Historians there is none more generally approved than *Quintus Curtius*. Some are for *Livy*'s Stile, others for that of *Tacitus*, but all agree that *Curtius* has writ very agreeably, and well. *Lipsius* advises that no book is more worthy the perusal of Princes, than this History which he commends to their frequent inspection. Some there are of that dignity, who have not only recreated their minds with this Book, but found other advantages by it. We have already reported somewhat like this in what we writ of *Livy*; and I remember I observed that one *Laurentius di Medicis*, who caused the History of the Emperors to be read to him, was so affected with the recital of some notable Act of *Conrard* the Third of that name, that he thought he owed his health to the content he received from that relation. *Antonius Panormitanus*, and several others observe a memorable occurrence concerning our Author, in reference to *Alphonso* that wise King of *Arragon*, who finding himself oppressed with an indisposition, from which all the remedies of his Physitians could not deliver him, sought some diversion in the History of *Quintus Curtius*; which was with so much satisfaction and good success, that

Lib. de reb. gest. Alph.

that he became cured of his infirmity, and protested to all about him, that neither *Hippocrates*, nor *Avicenna*, should ever be of equal consideration to him with that Treatise. But to draw to a conclusion, I must admit that *Curtius* is excellent in all his Orations, either Direct or Oblique. I have seen but one *Letter* in all his works, which is the answer of *Alexander* to *Darius*. And I do not remember that there is any other Digression, than that one of the Tenth Book which I mentioned before, where, taking an occasion from the Divisions amongst the *Macedonians* after the death of him that had made them Monarchs of the world, he celebrates the felicity of the Roman People, reunited in the time when he wrote, under a great and happy Emperor. We must not take for a Digression, the Relation of the manner of living of the *Indians*, and the Description of their Country, which is found in the Eighth Book, because there is nothing therein, that is not essential to the Theme which the Author proposed to himself; for being to write of the Exploits of *Alexander* in that Country, it was requisite for him to give some summary account of it.

Supposed to be Vespatian.

REFLEC-

REFLECTIONS
UPON THE
HISTORY
OF
CORNELIUS TAGITUS,

IN all the impreſſions of *Cornelius Tacitus*, his *Annals* are printed before his *Hiſtory*, which is underſtood to be becauſe they have a farther beginning, treating of the laſt daies of *Auguſtus*, and proceeding unto the end of *Nero's* Reign, whoſe laſt Twelve years are nevertheleſs wanting; whereas the books of his *Hiſtory* ſeem to follow one another from the *Epocha* of the death of that *Tyrant*, to the happy Government of *Nerva* and *Trajan*. And yet there is no doubt but *Tacitus* firſt compoſed his *Hiſtory*, as being nearer to his own time; for he quotes a place in the Eleventh of his *Annals*, to which he refers his Reader, concerning what he had already writ of the actions of *Domitian*, which were not by him mentioned any where, but in the Books of his *Hiſtory*. Of this *Hiſtory* there remains to us but Five

I ſuppoſe the Author is miſtaken in this computation, for Voſſius *ſpeaks but of two years. Extremum Neronis Biennium deeſt. de Hiſt. Latinis lib. 1. cap. 30.*

Five Books, and *Lipsius* guesses that there are Ten lost. For if they reached from *Galba*, to *Nerva*, and *Trajan*, which includes at least a space of Twenty one years, it is probable the greatest part of them are wanting, seeing the Five we have comprehend little more than the occurrences of one year.

Their Stile is more large and florid than that of the *Annals*, which are composed in a close contracted Phrase; but *Tacitus* his Eloquence appears every where in his grave way of writing, which has something of that δεινότης or sublimity in it, from which the Rhetoricians have observed, that *Demosthenes* never strayed. Amongst so many Censurers, who find every one something thing to say against the works of this Historian, none are more excusable than those who only complain of his obscurity. For as he often leaves his Narrations imperfect, he is sometimes found less intelligible. And the faults of the Copies, and depravation thereby of his sense, in many places, contributes much to render his matter difficult to be understood; but where the Paragraphs are intire and uncorrupted, his meaning is easily discovered. Howsoever it be, it is no wonder if *Tacitus* (having imitated *Thucydides*, and both followed *Demosthenes*) retained something of that roughness and austerity, which is observed in the writings of those Two *Gracians*; and which all the Ancients accounted as a virtue, so far is it from deserving to be imputed as a fault,

Muret. or. de Tac.

fault, to him that ſhould propoſe them to himſelf for imitation. And as ſome Wines are recommended to our palates by a little bitterneſs that is in them; and many perſons find that a dusky and obſcure light in Churches is moſt ſutable to their exerciſe of devotion: ſo others conceive the obſcurity of an Author, mixed with a little roughneſs of Stile, is rather to be eſteemed than otherwiſe; becauſe it diſpoſes the mind to attention, and elevates and tranſports it to notions, which it would not arrive at in a more eaſy compoſition.

As for thoſe who were ſo confident to pretend that *Tacitus* writ ill Latin, I judge them more worthy of compaſſion for that extravagance, than any ſolid anſwer. Yet Two great Civilians were of that opinion, *Alciat*, who maintained that the Phraſe of *Paulus Jovius* was preferable to that of this Ancient Hiſtorian, which, he ſaid, *was full of Thornes*; and *Ferret*, who condemn'd his Stile, as being in his judgment not *Roman* enough. If ever men were abſurd in cenſures, doubtleſs theſe were: and I do affirm againſt ſuch unreaſonable opinions, that apparently *Tacitus* makes the leaſt Groome or Cook, in narratives, ſpeak better Latin than either *Ferret*, or *Alciat*: they are indeed learned in the Law, but very bad judges of the Roman Eloquence. For though *Tacitus* has not writ like *Ceſar*, or *Cicero*, that is no argument of his bad performance. Eloquence is not uniform; there are divers kinds of it: and it is not unknown

known to the Learned, that Latin flouriſhed in all of them differently till the Reign of the Emperor *Adrian*, who was not ſo Ancient as *Tacitus*, to whom the greateſt Orators of his time freely yielded the Palm of Hiſtory. And *Pliny* the younger who was one of the moſt conſiderable amongſt them, declared in many of his Epiſtles, that he eſteemed *Tacitus* one of the moſt Eloquent of his Age. In the Twentieth Epiſtle of the firſt Book, he makes him Judge of a diſpute he had, about the Eloquence to be uſed in pleading at the Bar, againſt a learned man that maintained the moſt conciſe to be alwaies the beſt. And in another place he deſcribes to one of his friends the Pomp of *Virginius Rufus* his Funerals, obſerving his laſt and principal happineſs to conſiſt in the praiſes of the Conſul *Cornelius Tacitus*, who made his funeral Oration, and who was the moſt eloquent of that time; *laudatus eſt à Cornelio Tacito. Nam hic ſupremus felicitati ejus cumulus acceſſit laudator eloquentiſſimus.* When he imparts to another called *Arrian*, the ſucceſs of a great cauſe againſt a Proconſul of *Africa*, accuſed of robbing the publique Treaſury, he ſaies, that *Cornelius Tacitus* made a replication to the perſon that defended him, wherein his Eloquence and gravity inſeparable from his diſcourſe were admired; *reſpondit Cornelius Tacitus eloquentiſſimè; & quod eximium orationi ejus ineſt, σεμνῶς.* And when the ſame *Pliny* deſigned to provide a publick Preceptor for the City of *Coma* in his Native Country,

Epiſt. 1. *l.* 2.

Ib. ep. 11.

L. 4. *ep.* 13.

try, he intreated *Tacitus*, as one to whom all the great Wits of the Age applyed themselves, to recommend one to him to exercise that charge. I mention not the descriptions he makes him, in two different *Letters*, of the death of the Elder *Pliny* his Uncle, and of the burning of *Vesuvius*, which he was so desirous that the History of *Tacitus* should describe, that he conjures him elsewhere not to forget his name in it, declaring his passion for it in terms, which I think not unfit to rehearse in this place: *Auguror, nec me fallit augurium, Historiam tuas immortales futuras, quo magis illis, ingenue fatebor, inseri cupio. Nam si esse nobis cura solet, ut facies nostra ab optimo quoque artifice exprimatur, nonne debemus optare, ut operibus nostris similis tui scriptor prædicatorque contingat.* But the place, wherein *Pliny* shews most the esteem which he and all *Italy* had of *Tacitus*, is that of another *Letter*, where he declares that from his youth upwards he had chosen him for a pattern of Eloquence, from amongst the great number of excellent Orators, which were then in *Rome*. And because we learn precisely from that place the age of those two men, I will again very willingly insert it in its native language: *Equidem adolescentulus cum tu jam fama gloriaque floreres, te sequi, tibi longo, sed proximus intervallo & esse & haberi concupiscebam. Et erant multa clarissima ingenia, sed tu mihi (ita similitudo naturæ ferebat) maxime imitabilis, maxime imitandus videbaris.* There is no need to seek

Lib. 6. ep. 16. et 20.

Lib. 7. ep. 33.

Ib. ep. 20.

other

other proofs of *Tacitus* his reputation in his own time, which produced so many excellent persons: and few are ignorant how all the following ages have honoured his endeavours, whereof we shall give some more Testimonies before we finish this Section. But in the mean time is it not strange, that any should be so barbarous as *Alciat* and *Ferret*, and contradictory to all the Ancient Romans, to maintain that so considerable an Author could not so much as speak his mother-tongue? One must certainly have a brazen face, and a very empty head to advance such propositions. For my part should I see a Thousand things that displeased me, I should rather accuse my own weak understanding, or the faults of the Copies, or some other defect (which ought not to be imputed to him) than give the lye to all Antiquity, by falling into such an imaginary imputation.

There is a third sort of *Tacitus* his accusers, who tax him of speaking untruths; *Vopiscus* is of that number. But because he only arraigns him to excuse himself in this general proposition, that the best Historians of the world cannot avoid the mixture of lies in their truest narrations, *Tacitus* his reputation seems not to be much concerned therein. We have shown elsewhere that several persons took delight to maintain this *thesis*. And I remember *Dion Chrysostome* endeavouring to prove in one of his *Orations*, that one never knows the truth of things, is not content to

In Aurel.

Orat. 11.

to say, that the taking of *Troy* by the *Gracians* is a meer Fable; and that the *Persians* delivered a very different account of the wars of *Xerxes* and *Darius* against *Greece*, than the *Gracians* themselves; but he adds, as a note of the small certainty there is in History, that amongst the most famous of the Greek Historians, some held that the Naval victory of *Salamin* preceded that of *Platea*, and others asserted the contrary. It is sufficient then to answer, that there are untruths which our humanity bears with, when they are related by report, and without lying. But when *Tertullian* reproaches *Tacitus* with imposture, and *Budeus* calls him one of the most vile and impious Authors we have, it is evident that they mean something more than that sort of misreport, which ignorance may excuse; and which one may retort upon errors Authorised by common belief. For they are offended at what he impiously spoke of Christians, & in derision of our holy religion, whom he assaults even in the foundations of the *Old Testament*, deriding the Miracles of *Moses*, and reproaching the *Jews* with adoring the *Effigies* of a *Wild Asse*. I confess that one cannot too much condemn what he writ on that subject, as he was a *Pagan*. But nevertheless we must be forced to acknowledg, that if he must be totally renounced for what he writ against the true God, and our Altars, we shall be obliged to burn with his Books, almost all those of the *Gentils*, very few of them having abstained from the like

like calumnies. I ſay the ſame thing againſt the judgment which *Caſaubon* in his *Preface*, paſſed upon *Polybius*, where he pretends that Princes cannot read a more dangerous book than *Tacitus*, becauſe of the bad examples which are ſeen in it. For it is an ill cuſtome that *Caſaubon* has followed, never to write upon an Author without blaming all others, to give that the greater Authority; and we know that he has praiſed *Tacitus* elſewhere as much as any one can do. It is true his Hiſtory has repreſented unto us, the actions of the moſt wicked Princes that ever were; and that by misfortune thoſe Books which contained the beſt Emperors Raigns, as of *Veſpaſian*, *Titus*, *Nerva*, and *Trajan*, are loſt. Yet it is the way to cenſure all the Hiſtories we have in the world, even without excepting the Holy Writ, to make that of *Tacitus* reſponſible for the bad examples it contains, there being none found that have not ſome very dangerous in them, and where there is no need of diſtinguiſhing with judgment, the good and the bad of every Narration. But perhaps heretofore, as even in *Tertullians* time, the *Pagans* invectives againſt us might be apprehended, becauſe the world was not then purged of their errors, as it is at preſent by the Grace of God. I cannot imagine that any perſon can be found at this day, that would let himſelf be ſeduced by the Calumnies of the *Ethnicks*; or by all that the infidelity they lived in, could make them write againſt our *Evangelical* truths.

The

The general esteem the works of *Tacitus* have gained, might suffice alone against the Authorities we have examined, though we wanted reasons to refute them. If it were needful to weaken them by other contrary authorities, I can produce Two, besides the Universal consent of learned men, which are so weighty that they will alwaies turn the Scale on their side. The first is that of the Emperor *Tacitus*, who though invested in the supreme dignity of the world, did not forbear near two hundred years after the death of our Historian, to glory in that name common to them, esteeming it as an honour to have had such an Ancestour, and to be acknowledged one of his Posterity. He caused his Statue to be placed in all Libraries, and all his books to be writ over Ten times every year, that they might pass from hand to hand, and from Age to Age, as they have done unto ours. The Second Authority shall be that of the Great Duke *Cosmo di Medicis*, whose memory will never want veneration, as long as the Science of Polity or good government (as his Countrymen term it) shall be cultivated. That Prince chose *Tacitus* amongst all the Historians, as one from whom his mind could receive the most instruction and solid satisfaction. Add to the Testimony of Princes and Emperors, that the translation of this Author into all Tongues, gives a certain proof of the valew of him in all Nations. Besides his *Commentaries* & *History*, he wrote a *Treatise* of divers people who inhabited *Germany* in his time,

time, and of their different manners; with another *Book* of the *Life* of his Father in Law *Agricola*. Some moreover aſcribe to him, the book Entituled *the cauſes of the corruption of Latin Eloquence*, which others attribute to *Quintilian*, and which poſſibly belongs to neither of them, according to the probable conjecture of *Lipſius*. As for the collection of the book of *the pleaſant ſayings of Tacitus*, which *Fulgentius Planciades* mentions, it is a meer counterfeit, which never deceived any one but that Grammarian. The true compoſitions of *Tacitus* are diſcernable enough, either by their form, or matter, taking, as *Scaliger* does, the words of the Hiſtory for the matter, and the things it unfolds for the form. He ſcatters here and there throughout the whole, Oblique and Direct Orations, as the condition of time, place, and perſons require. But as conciſe as he is in his Stile, he flies out into Digreſſions in many places, witneſs that of the *God Sarapis* amongſt the reſt, in the Fourth Book of his Hiſtory; and that other wonderful one in the Fifth, which we have already in ſome ſort reflected on, relating to the Religion of the *Jews*, and that of *Moſes* their *Law-giver*. He was of the opinion, that, as there is no Traveller who may not go out of his way ſometimes, to ſee a memorable place, or ſome ſingular thing of the Countries he paſſes through; ſo the Laws of Hiſtory do no more forbid a Writer to make ſome ſmall excurſions, which pleaſe and refreſh the mind more than they divert it, when they are

Taciti facetiæ.

Lib. 2. de re poet. c. 1. et l. 3. c. 1.

uſed only in apt ſeaſon. He is no leſs ſententious than *Thucydides* or *Saluſt*, but with ſuch artifice, that all the maxims he laies down, iſſue from the nature of the ſubjects he treats of, in the ſame manner as Stars are made of the proper ſubſtance of the Heavens. There is nothing of Foreign, affected, too far fetched, or ſuperfluous in what he writes; each thought holds a place which becomes it ſo well, that it cannot be diſputed. Moreover you do not only learn from him the events of things paſt; He ſeldom fails to diſcover their cauſes, and the foregoing councels. One may ſay the ſame thing of Hiſtory, as the *Poet* ſaid of Husbandry.

Virg. 2. Georg. *Felix qui potuit rerum cognoſcere cauſas.*

And if what many people aver, be true, to wit, that the water is ſweeter in the bottom of the Sea, than in the Superficies; it is more certain that an Hiſtorical relation, which only gives an inſight into affairs, and the purſuance of events, leaving the Antecedent cauſes and advices unpenetrated, cannot be ſo uſeful or pleaſant, as that which reveals all the miſteries thereof, and does not hide the greateſt ſecrets contained in thoſe affairs, which reliſh according to the comprehenſion we have of them. But that which heightens the merit of *Tacitus* his works, is the obſervation which others have made before me, that one often learns *L. 1. Hiſt.* no leſs from what he left unſaid, than what he expreſſed, his ſilence being as inſtructive as his language, and his cyphers (to ſpeak in the terms of numbers)

numbers) as considerable as his most important figures, because all therein described is full of consideration, proportion, and judgment. Thus as the Ancients report, the *Painter Timanthes* left more in his Pictures to be imagined, than he exposed to the view of Spectators. And it is known that *Tacitus* did not set himself to write, before he was very old, after *Nerva*'s Reign, and under that of *Trajan*, as he himself declares.

REFLECTIONS UPON THE *HISTORY* OF LUCIUS ANNÆUS FLORUS.

THEY who make *Lucius Florus* to live under *Trajan*, are obliged to correct that place of his *Preface*, where he saies there was little less than two hundred years, from *Augustus* his time to his. The most probable opinion is that he was of a little later time. And it is beleived that the *Poet Florus*, whose verses *Spartianus* quotes in *the Life of the Emperor Adrian*, is the same of whom we now write, the Author of the Epitomy of the *Roman* History in four books. The verses are in a very familiar Stile;

Ego nolo Cæsar esse,
Ambulare per Britannos,
Scythicas pati pruinas.

The Emperor *Adrian* was addicted to Poetry, as

as may be seen by the pleasant answer which he returned.

Ego nolo Florus esse,
Ambulare per Tabernas,
Latitare per popinas,
Calices pati rotundos.

And one may see that the Phrase of his History is wholly Poetical, and that the love of *Parnassus* caused him sometimes, like *Virgil*, to imploy *Hemistichs* in his Periods, But though he seems very licentious in it, and his speech and expressions often savour more of a Declamer, than an Historian, yet we must affirm *Sigonius* to be very unjust, when he stiles him *an impertinent Writer*. The manner in which *Florus* treats of every War apart, did not deserve so severe a censure. And it is apparent, that he was ever acknowledged to be a very fluent Author, full of Eloquence, and very agreeable flowers of Oratory. He is moreover repleniſhed with very ingenious sentences, thoughts expressed with force and vehemency. And laying aside some little places, which may be thought cold, in comparison of others, many refined precepts are contained in what he writes, which could not be expressed in better terms.

Some doubt whither *Florus* that made the four books above mentioned, was the same that composed Arguments to the books of *Livy*'s history. Nevertheless it is a great mistake, to beleive that he intended to Epitomize the whole History of *Livy*, in his four books, for he does not follow it

in divers places, but rather purſues his particular fancy. Which is ſo extravagant in reference to *Chronology*, or the account of time, that it is not ſafe for any that will be truly informed, to take him him for a guide in that matter, becauſe of the many faults he has committed therein, through negligence, or otherwiſe. He is accuſed alſo of contriving the loſs of *Livy*'s works, to value his own collections; but I judge thoſe that are of that opinion, to be in an error, ſuch a ſort of ſummary Narration being not ſufficient ſo to ſatisfy the mind, as to make it reject a work, whereof that Compendium gives but a very ſuperficial account.

Moreover ſome make *Seneca* to be the Author of the Compendious Hiſtory of *Florus*, becauſe *Lactantius* laies down, in the fifteenth Chapter of the Seventh book of his *Divine Inſtitutions*, a Diviſion of the Roman Empire into four different ſeaſons, aſcribing Metaphorically to it, Infancy, Youth, Virility, and Old Age, which he attributes to *Seneca*'s invention. And becauſe the like diviſion is ſeen, in the *Preface* of *Florus* his books, they conclude that *Seneca* is the Author of them; and that the name of *Florus* is to be no otherwiſe conſidered, than as a counterfeit. But he that ſhall well obſerve the writings of theſe two Authors, will eaſily diſcern great differences in them. *Seneca* makes the *Youth* or *Adoleſcency* of *Rome*, as he terms it, reach to the end of the laſt *Punick War*, whilſt *Florus* makes it continue but to the firſt.

And

And *Seneca* begins its *Old Age*, when the Civil Wars arose between *Julius Cæsar*, and *Pompey*; whereas *Florus* accounts it from *Augustus* his establishment in the absolute power of the Empire. Is it not therefore more probable that *Florus* made use of *Seneca*'s thoughts, varying it, and rendering it in a manner his own, by the alteration he made therein? I am apter to believe, that *Lactantius* was mistaken, than to imagine that all the Manuscripts should err, which have put *L. Annæus Florus* in the Title of the Books we now mention. But perhaps *Florus* and *Seneca*, being both of the same family *Viz.* that of the *Annæi*, their names may have been confounded by adoption, or otherwise; and that *Florus* was therefore sometimes called *Seneca*, as one cannot deny that he is in some old Copies; and some have given him also the Surname of *Julius*. Whereupon we must observe that the House of the *Heraclidæ*, is not more honoured in the valour of the many gallant men it hath bestowed on the world, than that of the *Annæi* in the number of the excellent persons it has produced in all sorts of learning. *Seneca* the *Philosopher*, the *Tragedian*, and the *Rhetorician*, (if they are three) prove it sufficiently, as well as the Poet *Lucan*, and our *Historiographer*, whose Stile retains something of the *Genius* of that last *Family*, born all to be Masters of Eloquence, and Poetry. It will not be amiss to observe, that the praises which *Florus* gave in many places to *Spain*, are reproached to him by those who think, that the love

love of his country induced him to exceed a little, in the sixth, seventeenth, and eighteenth Chapters of the second book, besides what he adds in the third, treating of the Warlike exploits of *Sertorius* in that Country.

Cap. 22.

There was another *Julius Florus*, more Ancient than the *Historiographer*, who lived in *Tiberius* his Reign. *Seneca*, in his *Controversies*, saies that he was instructed in the art of speaking well, by the Orator *Portius Latro*. And *Quintilian*, speaking of that *Florus*, saies he was *the Prince of Eloquence*, and was a publick Professor of it in *Gallia*. They who build upon the Surname of *Julius* (which some Manuscripts attribute, as we have already said, to him whose History we examin) imagin he may be descended from that other *Florus*, whereof *Seneca* and *Quintilian* have made such honourable mention. But it is a meer conjecture, and so light, that it deserves not to be further reflected on.

Lib. 1. *instit. c.* 3.

I will only add, that amongst the Licences *Florus* has assumed, as we have already observed, there is one so Poetical, and strangely Hyperbolical, that *Scaliger* with reason blames him, in his *Commentaries upon Eusebius*, for having in a mistaken zeal, suffered himself to be led away, by a mean and childish appetite of relating wonderful things to the prejudice of truth. It is where he relates the expedition of *Decimus Brutus*, along the *Celtique*, *Galician*, and *Portuguese* Coasts. Where he alledges that *Brutus* never stopped his victorious course,

Pag. 134.

Lib. 2. *cap.* 17.

courſe, till he beheld the Sun fall into the Ocean, and heard with horrour its fire extinguiſh in the waters; which gave him a certain apprehenſion of being Sacrilegious, and to have done more than his religion permitted. *Putida & κακόζηλα ſunt hæc*, ſaies *Scaliger*, after he had uſed theſe terms, *Florus περιτολογία Poetica drama amplificat.* The ſame deſire of writing ſome ſtrange thing ought to be cenſured in him, where he ſpeaks of the defeat of the *Cimbri* by *Marius*. He pretends that two Young Men were ſeen in *Rome* near the Temple of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, preſenting to the *Prætor* Letters accompanied with Laurel, to witneſs a victory obtained. But I ſhall on this occaſion repeat a Maxim, which I have elſewhere eſtabliſhed, *viz.* that if an Hiſtorian ſometimes inſerts any thing in his Narration, of ſo extraordinary a nature, he ought at the ſame time to ſignify the ſmall faith he has therein, and proteſt that he meerly reports it as a popular rumor.

REFLEC-

REFLECTIONS UPON THE *HISTORY* OF SUETONIUS.

I Have hinted in the Preface of this Book, that I would not have ranked *Suetonius* with the other Hiſtorians, if what he writ of the twelve firſt *Caſars*, had not contained as well as their Lives, an Hiſtorical ſeries of what happened, during ſo conſiderable a time as an Age and more. Moreover I obſerve that no body mentions the Roman Hiſtory, without ſpeaking very advantagiouſly of *Suetonius*; and *Lodovicus Vives* has not ſtuck to prefer him for diligence, and fidelity, to all the Greek and Latin Writers extant. *Bodin* likewiſe affirms, that none of them has compoſed any thing exacter, or better accompliſhed, than what we have of this Hiſtorian. But though he is very deſerving, I ſhould be loath to aſcribe ſo much to him, as to celebrate his praiſe to the prejudice of thoſe whom we have hitherto

Lib. 5. de trad. diſc.

hitherto treated of. I allow him to be one of the Principal of the Latin Writers. He was Secretary of State to the Emperor *Adrian*, which is an evidence that he poſſeſſed, besides the knowledge of Great Affairs, a competent capacity to deliver them in proper and apt expreſſions. It is ſaid, his imployment was taken from him, because of ſome private familiarity he had with the Empreſs *Sabina*, which was diſliked, as if the reſpect and reverence due to her ſupreme dignity, had been thereby violated. But it happens ſometimes that particular diſgraces are uſeful to the publick, as was evidenced in his perſon, for his fall, and the leiſure he had by it, reduced him to a ſtudious contemplation, which has procured us amongſt other works, that which gives him a place amongſt the beſt Hiſtorians.

Beſides his Hiſtorical Labour, we have part of his Treatiſe of the *Illuſtrious Grammarians*, and that of the *Rhetoricians*, and ſome remains of another which contained the *Lives* of the *Poets*. For that of *Terence* is almoſt all of *Suetonius* his writing, as *Donatus* himſelf confeſſes, who adds ſomething to it. And the *Lives* of *Horace*, *Juvenal*, *Lucan*, and *Perſeus*, are probably of the ſame compoſition. However it be, ſome write that St *Hierome* took him for his Pattern, when he made his *Catalogue* of the *Eccleſiaſtical Writers*. But we ought not to believe, that which is extant of the Elder *Pliny*'s *Life*, under the name of *Suetonius*, to be of his writing; and if the Stile were

were not an obſtacle, the Phraſe is enough to diſcover it to be of a more modern contexture. *Suetonius* was too much a friend to the Younger *Pliny*, (as it is apparent in his *Epiſtles*) to ſpeak ſo coldly, and ſay ſo little of his Uncle, that was a moſt worthy perſon. There are many of the Epiſtles of the Nephew addreſſed to *Suetonius*, in one whereof *Pliny* takes notice, that he deſired him to deſer for ſome daies, the pleading of his cauſe, on the occaſion of an ominous dream, which made him apprehend at that time, the event of his buſineſs. This ſhews on the one ſide that *Suetonius* was ſuperſtitious; and the anſwer *Pliny* makes him, importing that dreams are often to be taken in the contrary ſenſe, witneſſes that he yeilded no leſs than his friend, to that ſort of vanity. And in another *Epiſtle Pliny* merrily menaces *Suetonius*, that if he delayed to publiſh his writings, he would change the *Hendecaſyllables*, which he had made in their praiſe, into *Scazons* of defamation, adding withal, to incourage their publication, that his work was arrived to ſuch a ſtate of perfection, that the file inſtead of making it brighter, did now diminiſh its value, and weaken it. *Perfectum opus atque ſplutumque eſt, nec jam ſplendeſcit lima, ſed atteritur.*

Lib. 1. ep. 18.

Lib. 5. ep. 11.

One may read in *Aulus Gellius*, *Servius*, *Tzetzes*, and in *Suidas*, the Titles of ſeveral Compoſitions of *Suetonius*, which we have loſt; As that of the *Games and Spectacles* or *Shewes* repreſented by the *Romans*; The *Republick of Cicero*; An Account

count of the *Illustrious Families of Rome*; and many others. *Suidas* gives him barely the character of *Roman Grammarian*, a Quality much more considered in that time, than it has been since. *Ausonius* mentions a Treatise of *Kings*, writ by *Suetonius* in three books, whereof *Pontius Paulinus* contracting them made a Poem. Moreover the Surname of *Tranquillus*, which is given to *Suetonius*, is in effect the same in signification, as that of his Father, whom he himself calls, in *the Life of Otho*, *Suetonium Lenem*, reporting that his charge of Tribune of the thirteenth Legion, obliged him to be present, when that Emperors Troops engaged against those of *Vitellius*. They therefore were deceived who beleived, that this *Suetonius* of whom we write, was Son of that *Suetonius Paulinus*, whereof *Tacitus*, *Pliny*, and *Dion* make mention. *Sicco Polentonus*, and *Muret* committed this error, which *Lipsius*, and Some Others judiciously repair, there being no reason in what they affirm, to confound a Military Tribune with a Consul. *Gerardus Vossius* shews also the mistake of those who read, in the tenth Chapter of the first book of the *Divine Institutions* of *Lactantius*, *Tranquillus*, instead of *Tarquitius*, who was another Author very learned in the Pagan Religion, and whom probably in that respect, *Lactantius* speaking of *Æsculapius*, rather intends than our *Suetonius*.

Ep. 19.

Cap. 15.

In vita Suet. var. lect. l. 5. *c.* 11.

But to return to his particular History of the Twelve first Emperors, There are some Criticks which affirm, that the beginning of the first book is

is wanting; and the ground of their opinion is founded on the improbability, that *Suetonius* should have writ nothing of the birth and first years of *Julius Cæsar*, when he took the pains to search into the Original, and Education, of eleven other Emperors that succeeded, whose lives he has described. He laboured in it, according to the judgment of St *Hierome*, (with the same liberty as Soveraigns so absolute assumed) in a condition exempt from all sort of fear. *Muret* indeed, in his *Oration* upon *Tacitus*, converts this to his disadvantage, and maintains that St *Hierome* rather blamed, than praised him in that saying. For, saies *Muret*, it were to be wished, that we had not learned so many Riots, and shameful Vices, as he declares to have been practised by the *Tiberii*, *Neronis*, and *Caligula*. They are, saies he, so filthy, that they almost make the Paper blush, upon which they are represented. And if what one of the Ancients saies, be true, namely that there is but little difference, between him who describes such infamy with care, and he who teaches it; we shall have much ado to excuse *Suetonius*, for having acted such a part as he did. And to augment his charge, he is accused of having used the Christians ill, calling them a sort of men, who imbraced a new, and mischievous superstition, which made them be persecuted in *Nero*'s time. But, as we have already answered to the like objections in other Sections, is there any of all the Historians of repute, who is

Eadem libertate scripsit, quâ ipsi vixerunt.

Parum abest à docente qui talia narrat.

In Ner. cap. 16.

not

not guilty, if it be a crime in him, to have repreſented the wicked actions of thoſe they write of, which makes the greateſt, and often the moſt conſiderable part of the narration? Does not the Sacred Hiſtory it ſelf, ſhew us Parricides, Inceſts, Idolatry, and many other Profanations, amongſt the beſt examples, and holieſt inſtructions? And ought we not to caſt into the fire all the books of thoſe Pagans, who have writ ſince the beginning of Chriſtianity, if what they expoſed againſt our Religion, ſhould make us abſolutely condemn it.

REFLEC-

REFLECTIONS
UPON THE
HISTORY
OF
JUSTIN.

SOME think they are to blame that complain of Abreviators, becauſe without contributing to the loſs of the writings they epitomiſed, they have not left us deſtitute of the moſt remarkable memorials of many Authors, of whoſe works nothing now remains. But thoſe which are of this opinion, ought to confeſs themſelves obliged to *Juſtin*, by whoſe Induſtry, the Great *Labour* of *Trogus Pompeius* is ſo happily reduced into little, that we have few Latin compoſitions more conſiderable than his *Epitome*, either for the Stile, or matter thereof. Yet methinks, theſe ſort of writers are not ſufficiently diſcharged, in aſſerting that they have left behind them valuable works, unleſs it be made to appear, that they have not been acceſſory to the loſs of the Originals, which is the crime imputed

to

to them by many Learned Men, as we have already observed in the Chapters of *Herodotus*, *Dion Cassius*, and *Livy*. The Extracts or Collections of that Understanding Emperor *Porphyrogenetus* are instanced on this occasion. And *Tribonianus* meets with the like entertainment, for having made a defective compilation, in his *Pandects*, of the Texts, or rather Oracles, of all those Ancient Lawyers, whose excellent reasonings, and elegant expressions, ought to have been preserved from so bold an attempt. A very speculative modern Author speaking of *Epitomys*, does not stick to call them *Moths and Worms that gnaw History*, which have made such a spoil therein, that there often remain but miserable shreads of the first contexture. And indeed there ought to be more than a bare negation, to refute so probable an opinion; though it may be alledged that the works of most Abreviators, and those of *Justin* amongst the rest, ought to be now very acceptable to us, because we can have recourse to no other relations of the matter they deliver. *Verulam de aug. Scient. l. 2. c. 6.*

It is easy to make a near guess at the time when *Trogus Pompeius* lived, by what he said in his forty third book, of his Parents that came from *Gallia Narbonensis*, where he declares his Grandfather to be made a Citizen of *Rome*, by the favour of *Pompey* the Great (whose Surname probably he took) during the Wars of *Sertorius*; and that his Father, after he had borne Arms under *Caius Cæsar* (who is here taken for the first

Emperor who bore that name, rather than for *Caligula*) had the honour to be his Secretary, and jointly to keep his Seal. It is therefore thought, that *Trogus Pompeius* wrote his History under *Augustus* and *Tiberius*, having spoken of the former at the end of the whole work. It was divided into forty four books, whose number *Justin* has not changed, no more than their Title, which was *the Philippick History*, because (as it appears from the seventh unto the one and fortieth book,) it was a continued narration of the *Macedonian* Empire, which owed its rise to *Philip* Father of *Alexander* the Great. *Theopompus* had written before, fifty eight books called *Philippicks*, which are quoted by *Athenæus* and *Diodorus*, and by Some held to be the Model which *Trogus Pompeius* followed; as *Cicero*, imitating *Demosthenes*, named his Orations *Philippicks*, with much less reason. The seven first books of that History, in pursuance of the Title we mention, comprised the first beginnings of the world, or of the Inhabitants thereof, together with descriptions of Places and Countries, which *Justin* has apparently cut of, as it may be collected from the Ancient *Preambles* before each book of *Trogus Pompeius*, published by *Bongars*. But we had been more fully satisfied herein, if that Freind of *Aldus*, who bragged he had in his hands all the works of that Historian, and would even in a short time shew them the light, had said a truth.

As to what relates particularly to *Justin*, he made

made his Epitome, according to the most common opinion, under *Antoninus* surnamed *Pius*, to whom it is thought he dedicated it in his *Preface*. I know, the passage wherein that Emperor is mentioned, is diversly interpreted; and some have been perswaded, that he wrote after the Establishment of the *Roman* Empire in *Constantinople*, because of a place in the eighth book, where he speaks of the Soveraign power of *Greece*. But that may admit other interpretations, without a necessity of making him live two hundred years later than he did, and in an Age which produced nothing so polite or elegant, as all we have of this Author is. Yet it is a greater error to confound him with *Justin* the *Martyr*, as one *Martin* a *Polander* did in his *Chronicle*. For though these Two *Justins* were Contemporary, the manner how the *Historian* treats the *Israelites* in his six and thirtieth book, where he will have *Moses* to be the Son of *Joseph*, and the Latter a very Great Magician, shews that he was of the Pagan beleif. And *Justin* the *Martyr* never wrote but in Greek, nor did *Eusebius*, St *Hierome*, or *Photius* rank the Epitomy of *Trogus Pompeius*, amongst his Works. Though St *Hierome* indeed quotes something of it in his *Preamble upon Daniel*; And no Author more Ancient than that Father of the Church, spoke of *Justin* the Historian.

He was not like to use Direct Orations, when he whom he epitomised, had condemned them

in *Saluſt* and *Livy*, as we have already elſewhere mentioned. Which appears in the eight and thirtieth book, where he rehearſes in an Oblique form, that long Oration of *Mithridates* to his Souldiers, to animate them againſt the Romans. And that of *Agathocles* in the twenty ſecond book, pronounced as ſoon as he arrived at *Afrisa*, to incourage his Troops then terrified by the obſcurity of an Eclipſe of the Sun, is no leſs conſiderable than that of *Mithridates*, though it be ſhorter. But he is cenſured by Some, for introducing a few Digreſſions in a work ſo cloſe and ſhort, as the Hiſtory he writes. The firſt is found in the beginning of his ſecond book, where the *Scythians* and the *Egyptians* have a debate on the point of honour, in what relates to their Antiquity, both of them pretending to have ſufficient reaſons to call themſelves, the moſt Ancient People of the Earth. The ſecond is in the twentieth book, on the ſubject of *Pythagoras*, whoſe birth, voyages, learning, virtues, and death, he deſcribes, without forgetting the misfortune which happened to his Diſciples, whereof threeſcore were burnt in *Croton*, and the reſt exiled. Whence one may conclude, that all ſort of Digreſſions are not to be condemned; when ſo eminent an Author as *Juſtin*, who contracted into ſo little a ſpace, the Hiſtory of the Tranſactions of two thouſand years (which are reckoned from *Ninus* the Founder of the *Aſſyrian* Monarchy, to the Emperor *Auguſtus*) made no difficulty

ſome-

sometimes to divert himself this way upon an agreeable subject.

But though *Justin's* manner of writing is so excellent, that it was thought worthy of *Augustus* his Age, rather than of that of the *Antonines*; his elegancy of Stile cannot atone for his mistakes in relation. *Pererius* has convinced him of many errors in reference to the *Jews*, in his *Commentaries upon Daniel*. And *Vopiscus* places him in the rank of Historians who could not avoid lying: but one may say, that his associating him with *Livy*, *Salust*, and *Tacitus*, renders that accusation very light. That which he cannot be excused in, is Chronology, where he was so much mistaken, that one ought not to follow him alwaies. And that which makes his fault the greater, is that the reputation of *Trogus Pompeius*, and the esteem which all the Ancients had for him, obliges men to think, that those misreckonings in the sequel of times, are rather of the Copy, than the Original, or of the Abreviator, rather than the Primitive Author. Which is the ordinary judgment of those who have laboured most in the best Editions of *Justin*.

Cap. 40.

In Aurelio.

I Should have ended here, according to my first intention, not finding after *Justin* and the time of the *Antonines*, any Latin Historian amongst the Ancients, whence one might draw any profitable instruction to compose a History, or whose works might merit a serious reflection, unless it should be absolutely to condemn the exposition, and ill conduct of them. They who are usually called the Writers of the *August History*, *Spartianus*, *Wlcatius Gallicanus*, *Trebellius Pollio*, *Julius Capitolinus*, *Lampridius*, and *Vopiscus*, have nothing in them contrary to this proposition, or otherwise considerable, except it be that they teach us things of many Emperors, whereof we hardly learn any thing elsewhere, though indeed *Vopiscus* is the least faulty of them. *Trebellius Pollio* may be put in the second order. *Spartianus*, *Lampridius*, and *Wlcatius* are incomparably more faulty and more negligent than the others; and *Julius Capitolinus* is the worst of all, by the advice of those who have taken the pains to examin them. But it is very strange that a whole Age and more should pass away, from that of the *Antonines* to *Diocletian* (under whom all those before mentioned did write) without the appearance of one good Historian in the Roman Empire, who might deserve to have his works descend to us. Neither will *Sextus Aurelius Victor* (who came a little after) merit a better esteem, whose abridged History

ſtory contains but a word of each Emperor's Life, from *Auguſtus* to *Julian*; nor would it be any advantage to him if we ſhould confound in one, the three who bore the ſame name of *Sextus Victor*, to *Theodoſius* the Great. And as for *Eutropius*, who dedicates almoſt at the ſame time, his *Hiſtorical Breviary*, to the Emperor *Valens*, and whom *Suidas* calls *an Italian Sophiſter*, I ſhall ſay little of him, as having nothing comparable in his writings, to thoſe of the celebrated Authors, whoſe works we have examined. There remains only *Ammianus Marcellinus*, whom I cannot with a good conſcience decline, he having compiled a juſt body of Hiſtory, and by whom I will finiſh this Treatiſe: for we cannot extend it to the Age of *Juſtinian*, as we have done that of the Greek Hiſtorians; unleſs we ſhould introduce *Jornandes*, and *Caſſiodorus*, indiſcreetly mingling the barbarity of the *Goths*, with the purity and adreſs of the beſt Authors of the Latin Language.

REFLEC-

REFLECTIONS UPON THE *HISTORY* OF AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS.

IT must be confeſſed, that *Ammianus Marcellinus* is not conſiderable in reſpect of the beauty of his language. For he was a *Greek* by Nation, as he himſelf declares at the end of his laſt book. And from an *Epiſtle* of *Libanius* to him, it is inferred, that he was a Citizen of *Antioch*; he ſpeaks of him with Elogies, as often as occaſion does occur, excuſing him in his two and twentieth Book, on the ſubject of the Invectives of the *Miſopogon* of *Julian*, which he affirms to have been exceſſive, and contrary to what might be juſtified with truth. After the death of the Emperor *Valent*, he retired to *Rome*, where it is beleived by very probable conjectures, that he compiled his Hiſtory after he had paſſed through the moſt honourable Offices of the *Militia*, which he exerciſed under divers Emperors, having been in his youth,

youth, of the number of those who were then named *Protectores Domestici*; which was a Quality that resembles that of the *Gardes du Corps* in *France*, an ordinary step to the highest Imployments of the State. He flourished under the Emperors *Gratianus* and *Valentinian*, and wrote his History in one and thirty books, which he began at the end of *Domitians* Reign, or the beginning of *Nerva*, and continued to the death of *Valens*; the first thirteen of them are lost, and the eighteen that remain, are full of imperfections, which the injury of time, and the insolent temerity of Criticks have introduced in them, as the learned Author of the last Edition of that work, has very prudently observed.

Guards of the King of France his body.

Henr. Valesius.

It is easy to judge that the books of *Ammianus* his History, which are wanting, were writ much more compendiously, than those we have; for he comprised in the thirteen first, the Reigns of as many *Cæsars*, as were between *Nerva* and *Constantius*, who makes the beginning of the fourteenth; all the rest which followed being imployed to describe, what past from that last Emperor's, to *Gratian*'s time, under seven Reigns only. We have spoken in the Section of *Josephus*, of those who undertook to write in Foreign Tongues. I will not repeat any thing here that I there mentioned; but only add, that if the History of *Ammianus Marcellinus* receives some prejudice from his defects in the Latin Elocution, in which a *Grecian*, and a Souldier by profession as he was, could not

not very much excell, it is so well recompensed by the merit of the thoughts, and all the rest of his work, that an advantagious place, amongst the Prime and Principal Historians, cannot be refused him. He is of the number of those who writ the things they saw, in which they often had a great part; wherefore he has something common with *Cæsar* and *Xenophon*. Nevertheless I do not think (as others have done) that he is that *Free Prince* of *Dalmatia* and *Illyria*, of whom *Suidas* speaks, though he bore the same name, and was a great friend of *Salustius* the *Philosopher*, who ought not to be confounded with another of that name, a Principal commander of the *Pretorian Militia*, under *Valentinian*. But *Ammianus Marcellinus* is very much to be valued; because, though he was a Pagan, he had the discretion to publish nothing directly contrary to Christianity; and abstained from many Invectives, which his equals often in that time used against our Religion. He gives indeed excessive praises to *Julian*; and though that *Apostate* cannot be too much detested, for his infidelity and revolt, yet it cannot be denied but he was indued, according to the ordinary definitions of the Schools, with the Moral and intellectual virtues of Chastity, Magnanimity, Learning, and Temperance, unless the faith of all Histories that have writ of him be disputed; which is needless in the Age in which we live, wherein the grace of God has left us nothing more to fear from the Idolatry of the Ancients. If the opinion

Lib. de virtute Paganorum.

nion of *Gesner* may be allowed, who maintains that *Marcellinus* the Historian is the same that writ the *Life* of *Thucydides*, it may be wondered that he treated Christianity with so much moderation. The Author of that *Life* commends *Thucydides* for nothing so much, as that he had the power over himself, to forbear writing with Animosity, against *Cleon*, or *Brasidas* (who had caused him to be banished) never shewing any where his resentment of so great an injury; though, to speak the truth, he did not wholly refrain from representing the bad conditions of *Cleon*. It is no marvel then, that *Marcellinus* practised himself what he esteemed so much in others, or that he made use of that virtue in his discourses, which he commended in those of *Thucydides*.

One of the considerations which ought to oblige us to a greater esteem of the History of *Ammianus*, is, that *we* have none like that, which gives us the knowledge of many Antiquities of the *Gaules*, or so well explains the Originals of the first *French*, *Germans*, and *Burgundians*, of whom it makes frequent mention. Moreover it contains many things besides, which are found no where else, and has had the approbation of all Ages since it was writ, because of the sincerity and veracity of the Author. And for his reputation, we may add to what has been already said of him, and his Employments, that he passed his last years with great reputation, under the Emperors *Gratian*, *Valentinian*, and *Theodosius* the Great. *Meaning the French.*

But

But all these Encomiums do not protect him, from being accused of having too often acted the part of a Philosopher in his writings, affecting to appear learned, beyond what the Laws of History permit, which do not admit of Entertainments of so great ostentation, as many of those he relates.

It is the ordinary fault of those that are distinguished by their profession, from men of letters, and has great resemblance to that vice, which the *Greeks* named ὀψιμαθία, which signifies a learning in old age; because they which study when they are advanced in age, and against the Rules of the usual course of study, are much more subject to it than others. And indeed, *Ammianus Marcellinus* cannot be justified in many places of his History, where he indecently quits the prosecution of his narration, to enter upon discourses of Philosophy, and other Sciences, which have hardly any relation to the matters whereof he treats. But to make the thing clearer, and consequently more instructive, I will produce two or three examples of his practice herein,

In the seventeenth book, speaking of terrible Earthquakes, which happened under the Reign of *Constantius* in *Macedonia*, in the Province which at that time bore the name of *Pontus*, and in many parts of *Asia Minor*, he makes an excellent description, and not improperly, of the strange Ruines which *Nicomedia* the Capital City of *Bythynia* suffered by this accident. And if he had stopped there, he had done enough, but he takes occasion on that subject,

ſubject, to ſeek for the Phyſical cauſes of ſuch ſhakings in the loweſt part of the Univerſe. And conſiders firſt what the Prieſts of his Religion ſaid of it. Thence, examining the reaſons of *Ariſtotle*, *Anaxagoras*, and *Anaximander*, ſtrenghtned by the Teſtimony of the Poets, and *Theologians*, he ſhews that there are four ſorts of Earthquakes. And after a long enumeration of the new *Iſles*, which appeared in divers places after ſuch ſhocks, he names thoſe that were ſwallowed up by a quite contrary violence, and one amongſt the reſt, which was of a greater extent than all *Europe*, and was ſwallowed by the *Atlantick* Sea; which doubtleſs he took from *Plato*'s *Timæus* though he does not name him. At laſt having a long time Philoſophically expatiated himſelf, he begins his narration again with *Julian*'s reſidence at *Paris*, being then only a deſigned *Ceſar* or Emperor.

In the beginning of the twentieth book, he takes notice of a great *Eclipſe* of the Sun, in the year when the *Scotch*, & the *Picts* waſted *England*, which was that of the tenth *Conſulat* of *Conſtantius*, and the third of *Julian*. As this was a good obſervation to be made, and very worthy of his Hiſtory, ſo there is no reaſon on that circumſtance, to fall upon the moſt ſecret miſteries of Aſtronomy, not only in what concerns thoſe Periodical defects of the light of the Sun, but alſo in what touches the travels of the Moon; as the Poets ſay, when the Earth darkens it with its ſhadow. He expoſes on that ſubject the opinion of *Ptolemæus*, in the ſame words

words he uſed; and not content to treat of *Eclipſes*, he inquires into the cauſe of the *Parelia*, when we think we ſee more than one Sun in the Heavens; ſo that one would think in this place, he quite abandons the proſecution of his Hiſtory, to deliver to his readers, a Lecture of Aſtronomy. Nevertheleſs at laſt he reſumes his diſcourſe, recounting the preparations of *Conſtantius* againſt the *Perſians*, and his jealouſy of the brave actions of *Julian*, after a tireſome and intolerable excurſion.

The third and laſt example of the vicious digreſſions of *Ammianus*, is in his thirtieth Book, where he obſerves with curioſity and profit, how the Emperor *Valens* was diverted by his Courtiers from hearing cauſes pleaded, and aſſiſting at judgments, that they might thereby purſue their unjuſt *Monopolies*, and becauſe they feared, conſidering his rigid and ſevere nature, he would cauſe juſtice to be exerciſed as legally and juſtly, as it was a little before, under the government of *Julian*. Thence he takes occaſion to inveigh againſt the profeſſion of Advocates, which he ſays, *Epicurus* named the *Art of Knavery* Κακοτεχνία. And the better to repreſent the infamous proceedings of thoſe of his time, he exaggerates the merit of one *Demoſthenes*, that made all *Greece* come to *Athens*, when he was to ſpeak in publick; and of one *Calliſtratus*, who made even *Demoſthenes* leave *Plato* in his Academy to go and hear him; And then he mentions *Hyperides*, *Æſchines*, *Androcides*, *Dinarchus*, and one *Antiphon*, who was the firſt

of all Antiquity that was recompenſed for pleading in a weighty cauſe. From the Greeks he paſſes to the Romans, and naming thoſe great Orators *Rutilius*, *Galba*, *Scaurus*, *Craſſus*, *Antonius*, *Philippus*, and *Scævola*, he deſcends to *Cicero*, to prove that formerly, they that had exerciſed the chief imployments of State, after having been Cenſors, Conſuls, Generals, and had Triumphed, did not diſdain to take a place at the Bar; and add to the glory of their precedent actions, as a Corollary, that of having had the applauſe of a whole Audience in pleading. And after having ſhown ſo fine a Scene, he draws the Curtain, to expoſe to all eies the ſhameful and criminal proſtitution of the Advocates of his Age, dividing them into four ſorts, whoſe impoſtures, impertinencies, and perplexing tricks he does ſo particularly diſplay, that one has much ado to get out of the Laborinth, to recover the narration, and return to *Valentinian* in *Treves*, where he had left him. Though his Declamation is very moral and elegant being ſeparately conſidered, it muſt needs be troubleſome, and tedious as he introduces it, becauſe it too viſibly interrupts the courſe of the Hiſtory. And thoſe that would be inſtructed in Phyſicks, Aſtronomy, or Moral Philoſophy, do not ſeek ſuch leſſons in an Hiſtorian, and to thoſe that deſign to be informed in Hiſtory, nothing can be more uneaſy, than to find in the midſt of a relation foreign diſcourſes, which divide or miſlead the mind, and do but ſhew his learning that expoſes them.

Beſides

Besides this vicious ostentation, which one may easily perceive in those three passages I instanced, *Ammianus Marcellinus* is blamed for having made certain descriptions so Poetical, that they are hardly sufferable. And though, as we have elsewhere observed, History and Poetry are good freinds enough, and agree in many things; *Caussinus* the *Jesuite*, in his *Treatise of Eloquence*, gives divers examples of this defect, which appear so frequently in the writings of *Ammianus*, that it is hard not to find some in every opening of the book. But all these censures cannot deprive him of the praises we have given him. There are generally speaking, certain things in books that are displeasing, which nevertheless are not to be rejected, because they serve for a Basis to others which are better, and are like the Lees, which preserve the Wine, in its spirits.

In the Section of Agathias. Lib. 2. cap. 8.

But after all that has been said, the imperfections of this Historian seem to me so much the less considerable, as the virtues of his Age were rare. And it is that which induces me to put an end here to my labour, hardly finding after him, any thing but gross errors, in the writings of those Authors of the next succeeding age, which busied themselves in writing Latin History. To write of the Modern Historians is not my design, and the Interval of time which divides them from the first of that order, is a just occasion for me to make a stop here.

FINIS.